





*The State of the Printed Hebrew Text
of the Old Testament considered.*

DISSERTATION

THE SECOND.

Wherein the Samar. Copy of the Pentateuch
is vindicated :

The printed Copies of the Chaldee Paraphrase
are proved to be corrupted :

The Sentiments of the Jews on the Heb. Text
are ascertained :

An Account is given of all the Heb. MSS,
now known ; and also

A particular Catalogue of CX Heb. MSS, in

OXFORD, CAMBRIDGE,

And THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

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O X F O R D

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T O
THE REVEREND
THOMAS HUNT, D.D.

Regius Professor of *Hebrew*,
Professor of *Arabic*,
and
Canon of *Christ - Church*,
in
THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

Reverend Sir,

AS my former Dissertation, on the
sacred Hebrew Text, was inscrib'd
to *The University of OXFORD*, in grateful
remembrance of *Their* Favour; so this second
Dissertation, upon the same subject, is, with
Gratitude and great Respect, humbly dedica-
ted to Y O U.

It may be improper to trouble You, Sir, or
the World, with a recital of the many private
Obligations, which You have been pleas'd to
confer, during that long Acquaintance, with
which You have honour'd me: and yet there
is One, which must be acknowledg'd on this
occasion. The Obligation here meant, and I
mention

mention it with all due thankfulness, is --- that I stand indebted, Sir, to You, for my knowledge of the very elements of the Hebrew Language. And therefore, if any advantage should accrue to the World from my observations on the Hebrew Text; the World will, and ought to know, that this advantage is deriv'd from *Your Instructions*.

This however would be doing little justice to the excellence of your former Lectures; if I was not to add ---- that from your truly warm Zeal for the cultivation of Oriental Literature, and your unwearied Endeavours to communicate what You were known so eminently to understand, OXFORD has deriv'd a new glory to its Character; being of late years become illustrious, not more for its skill in Arts and Sciences, and in the Languages of Greece and Rome, than for its acquaintance with the sacred Language of *Moses and the Prophets*.

But --- Who is there, that has not read and admir'd the Dissertation, with which You yourself have favour'd the Public, on *Exod. ch. 7; 22, 23*? Every judicious Reader must have there seen a very obscure, and indeed unintelligible Text happily restor'd to its genuine brightness; and this, principally, *by the detection*

DEDICATION.

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detection of one small letter corrupted in the Hebrew. And therefore, the following prosecution of the same method, in endeavouring to discover and correct other corruptions, offers itself naturally to *Your Patronage.*

Permit me, Sir, to say: Your addressing that Dissertation to the young Gentlemen, who attended your Hebrew Lectures --- Your encouraging them to examine with reverence the words of holy Scripture; and not only to investigate the genuine Sense of the Hebrew Text as printed, but also to consider whether that Text be not sometimes corrupted --- Your pointing out one of the chief methods of discovering such Corruptions; namely, by consulting the old and venerable Versions --- and lastly, your inculcating these rational principles on so numerous a succession of Auditors, who were themselves to instruct multitudes --- these several circumstances, arising from your Dissertation, have frequently reminded me of another passage in the *Proverbs*; in which Solomon says to his son: *Have I not written to thee excellent things, in counsel and knowledge? That I might make thee know THE CERTAINTY OF THE WORDS OF TRUTH: that thou mightest answer the words of truth to them, that send unto thee.* Ch. 22; 20, 21.

Preju-

Prejudices, when grown inveterate, are with great difficulty remov'd. And yet those prejudices, as to the absolute authenticity and perfection of any one printed copy of the *New Testament*, have ceas'd for some years. Numerous MSS have been collated. The various Readings have been publish'd. The learned World has been instructed. And the authority of the New Testament has been, still more firmly, establish'd by this use of MSS. And, what an honour is it to our own Country; that the very learned *Michaelis* should declare (in his late Lectures on the New Testament, sect. 25) that *the English MSS of the New Testament have been hitherto the most consulted, and the best known!*

The same principles of reason and good sense, which have been allow'd to cultivate sacred criticism on this *second* Volume of Revelation, must be (sooner or later) admitted as to the *first* Volume of Revelation likewise. Here also the strong prejudices of some are now shaken; and doubts in many others are remov'd. MSS of the Heb. Text are, as yet, happily preserv'd. The Copies are very numerous; and more numerous in England, than in any other Country. They are found to contain multitudes of various Readings.
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And these various Readings greatly improve the Sense of the printed Text; confirm the Authority of the ancient Versions of the *Old* Testament; and justify (which, I humbly apprehend, has never yet been fully done) the Quotations in the *New* Testament.

Some wise and good men have long seen the necessity of allowing, that there may be corruptions in the printed Hebrew copies; that the Heb. MSS must have been, without a constant miracle, subject to the fallibility of transcribers; and that the Text of the *Old* Testament is therefore to be settled, explain'd and defended by sound criticism, like the Text of all other ancient writings. So that there is great propriety, Sir, in the following reflection of the late excellent Bp Berkeley, concerning the *Minute Philosophers* of these days --- *Whether it might not become their character, as impartial and unprejudiced men, to consider the Bible in the same light they would profane authors. Men are apt to make great allowance for transpositions, omissions, and literal errors of transcribers, in other ancient books --- and why not, in the Prophets?* Dialog. 6, sect. 8.

I do not mention these things here, out of a vain presumption of instructing One, from whom

whom I have had the honour to learn ; but in hopes of preparing the minds of others for a candid and favourable perusal of the following Dissertation. A man cannot be too careful to guard against misapprehension, and also misrepresentation, in a case of this important nature. But surely it may be presum'd, that *all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil-speaking, will be put away, with all malice* ; when men find, by repeated proofs, that, in studying to ascertain the genuine words of holy Scripture, **WE DO NOTHING AGAINST THE TRUTH, BUT FOR THE TRUTH.**

Give me leave only to remark farther, on this point : that, as we are not to *add to*, nor *take from*, the words of holy Scripture ; it must be the duty of all those, who are the Guardians of Religion, most watchfully to guard the Divine CHARTER, which contains it : and this, either by endeavouring to perpetuate it, as it now stands, if it be at present inviolate ; or, if not, by endeavouring to *take from* the printed copies whatever has been *added to* the Original, to *add to* the printed copies whatever has been *taken from* the Original, to correct in the printed copies whatever has been any way corrupted, and thus to restore

store (as far as may be) to its primitive integrity a Book of such infinite consequence to Mankind. I have the pleasure, Sir, to know, that in this declaration I express *your* firm persuasion; and that with yours coincide the sentiments of many Others, who are also Men of justly distinguish'd Eminence.

There yet remains one circumstance, which must not be silently pass'd over; as it will point out the strict connexion of the present Dissertation with the Person, to whom it is dedicated. In March 1757, when the Delegates of our University Press, in consequence of the laudable Reformation then propos'd, had requested *You*, Sir, to recommend such works, as You thought it would be useful and honourable to encourage the publication of; what You principally recommended was *A Collation of all such Heb. MSS of the Old Testament, as were preserv'd in the Bodleian Library* --- a proposal; which, tho' at that time unanimously agreed to, has not been as yet carried into execution. But, whatever consequence attends *your* recommending, either the work itself, or the person You were pleas'd to mention for the performance of it; I must here avail myself of the powerful sanction given to the Scheme of this Dissertation, both

by the proposal as made by *You*, and by the unanimous approbation it met with from *the Delegates of our University*.

May this Dissertation be found to contain such observations, as may support Your Recommendation! May it prove the importance, may it manifest the necessity, of collating our Heb. MSS; before time has depriv'd us (and it will every day more and more deprive us) of their inestimable Advantages!

But, whatever be the success of these endeavours to promote the Honour of Revelation; this publication furnishes me with a pleasing opportunity of expressing my dutiful sense of your uncommon Friendship; and of subscribing myself,

with the sincerest Respect and Gratitude,

Reverend Sir,

Your most obliged, and

most humble Servant,

BENJAMIN KENNICOTT.

CONTENTS

Of the Dissertation.

Introduction — — — Page 5.

CHAPTER I:—

On the Samaritan Pentateuch; particularly, the celebrated Corruption of Deuteronomy 27, 4. — Pag. 20.

A Confutation of Mr Collins's Chapter on the preceding subjects - Pag. 103.

CHAPTER II:

On the Chaldee Paraphrase; in proof, that the later Copies have been corrupted, to make them more agreeable to the later Heb. Copies - Pag. 166.

CHAPTER III:

On the Sentiments of the Jews themselves; in proof of their allowing many Alterations in their Hebrew Copies — — — Pag. 222.

CHAP-

CONTENTS.

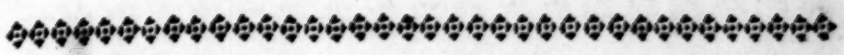
CHAPTER IV:

An History of the Heb. Text (divided into Six Periods) from the writing of the latest part of it to the present time — — — — Pag. 292.

CHAPTER V:

An Account of all the Heb. and Samar. MSS, which are known at present in the World; with a Collation of Eleven Samar. MSS, in the instances objected to by Hottinger — Pag. 515.

Conclusion: containing supplemental Observations; and a Catalogue of the Heb. and Samar. MSS in England, dispos'd under every Book of the Old Testament — — — Pag. 553.



ERASMI APOLOGIA.

Quisquis amat veram Theologiam, lege, cognosce, ac deinde judica. Neque statim offendere, si quid mutatum; sed expende, num in melius sit mutatum. — Paulus fortunatum sese prædicat, quod apud Agrippam pro se causam dicturus esset; cui res omnes, in quibus vertebatur quæstio, maxime compertæ essent. — Ne opus est nobis apologia; nisi apud istos, qui non aliam ob causam calumniantur, nisi quod non intelligant: qui, quo longius absunt a bonis literis, eo magis non solum non amplectuntur opus, ipsorum paratum usui; verum etiam obstrepent, calumniantur, damnabunt! — Theologorum imprimis est, non solum gratitudinem præstare, verum etiam candorem & mansuetudinem; & Theologis potissimum hic meus desudavit labor. — Si qui verentur, ne sacrarum literarum auctoritas vocetur in dubium, si quid usquam variaverit; hi sciant oportet, jam annos plus mille sacra exemplaria non per omnia consensisse. — Augustinus confitetur, ipsa codicum discordia se non mediocriter adjutum fuisse; dum quod hic parum apte dixerat, alter clarius ac rectius efferret: id quod vel fortuito fieri necesse est. Qui prædicant inviolabilem Scripturarum auctoritatem, his utroque favemus pollice. Qui has sciens depravat, contumeliam facit Spiritui Sancto: fatemur. Verum hæc majestas in ipsis est fontibus. Non erravit Esaias; neque quisquam mutare nititur, quod Ille scripsit. Non lapsus est Moses; nemo corrigit, quod Ille tradidit. Cum scribis, cum depravatoribus, nobis res est: is vero subservit Spiritui Sancto; qui, quod per homines depravatum est, pro viribus pristinae restituit Integritati.



INTRODUCTION.

IT is now six years, since my Dissertation on *the State of the printed Hebrew Text of the old Testament* was submitted to the judgment of the Public. During which time I have been careful, not only to request the private opinions of such amongst the Learned, as I have the honour to be acquainted with; but also to collect whatever has been publish'd relating to it, either in our own or in foreign countries.

The importance of this subject (if any subject can be important) must be allow'd by all men. At least, men of learning and religion will think no subject equal, in its importance, to a rational enquiry into the state of *A Revelation* most graciously vouchsaf'd by G O D to Man ---- to an enquiry, whether *the printed copies* perfectly represent *the original writings* of Moses and the Prophets, of Christ and his Apostles : whether there are in the printed copies, and of course in the literal translations of

them, *any mistakes* made by transcribers; especially *such mistakes*, as may have render'd unintelligible, absurd, or contradictory, either precepts of duty, or points of sacred history, in the old or the new Testament. And, if so; then every man, who believes the infinite value of these sacred Records, will ardently desire, and must think it his bounden duty to endeavour, that they may be freed from *every such corruption*; at least, that they may as far as possible recover their original perfection, and more uniformly appear to be (what they really are) *worthy of G O D, and worthy of all acceptance.*

And as the printed copies of other ancient writings are generally judg'd more or less genuine and perfect, in proportion as more or fewer MSS have been collated, to correct the errors in each of them; so, if the several transcribers of the sacred writings have err'd like others, the collation of MSS seems the best, and indeed the only method, for procuring a good edition of THE HOLY BIBLE. For is *That* the only volume in the world, which is to be depriv'd of a privilege granted to all the rest? And, if granted also to *one half* of that sacred volume; will there be equity, can there be prudence, in denying to *the other half* of

of it the same reasonable advantage? Most certainly, not. And therefore, that which sensible and good men have thought just and necessary; that which has been (to the great benefit of the learned world) perform'd, as to the *new* Testament, by collating and publishing the various readings of the Greek MSS; the same useful work, my Dissertation attempted to prepare the way for being undertaken, as to the *old* Testament. *

The chief argument, for *the usefulness* of such an undertaking, was founded upon the discovery of many Heb. MSS, which contain'd very material variations; and such, as would render it probable ---- that mistakes more in number, and more considerable in their nature, would appear to have been made by *the Jews*, in their transcripts of the *old* Testament (notwithstanding their so-much-boasted accuracy) than appear to have been made by *the Christian*

* Cum viros hujus ævi *νεανώτατους*, sive studio sive æmulatione incitatos, certatim quasi in eo operam ponere viderem; ut omnis generis vetustos auctores ethnicos (quotquot e naufragio litterario, non sine Dei nutu, ad nos delati sunt) ad codicum MSS fidem quam diligentissime castigatos, novoque cultu indutos, in publicum protruderent: operæ pretium me facturum, neque alienum fore a conditione mea, existimaui; si, in hac litterarum contentione, omne meum studium, consilium, operam, atque diligentiam addicerem DIVINIS SUPREMI NUMINIS ORACULIS. Breitinger, in the preface to his celebrated edition of Dr. Grabe's *Septuagint*.

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transcribers of the *new* Testament. But then, as the argument of usefulness, thus founded upon the discovery of such MSS, was almost entirely new; it seem'd an act of deference justly due to the nature of the Subject, to expect for some years the sentiments of the Public; and to collect with diligence and care all the remarks, which men truly learned might please to communicate, either as to the scheme of the Dissertation in general, or any of its particular passages.

For, with respect to the general scheme; as it endeavours to prove, that *many and material errors of the transcribers have been admitted into the printed copies*: the enquiry should be, whether any arguments have been offer'd, sufficient to invalidate the charge of *corruptions*, and firmly to maintain the notion of *the integrity* of the printed Heb. Text. And this notion, tho' it should be in fact utterly indefensible, may require some considerable attention: not only, *because* the demolition of it is, and must be, the foundation of all the particular corrections propos'd: but also, *because* this notion is grown venerable by age, having been long maintain'd with the warmest efforts of mistaken zeal: *because* those, who ventur'd formerly to controvert it, were deem'd Heretics

tics of the most dangerous kind: *because* Subscription to the truth of this notion is still rigidly requir'd from the candidates for holy Orders, in some other countries: and *because* the denial of it, in this our land of light and liberty, has been urg'd by some Divines as a proof at least of *Deism*; and lately represented as a crime, so replete with public evil, as to call loudly for *public censure*. *

When the scheme of the Dissertation in general has been vindicated, as it easily may; it will be then proper to consider those several remarks, which have been offer'd, on the man-

* *This is no new thing, that Endeavours to promote the publique good should be thus rewarded. For in the former ages we find, that those, who labour'd most about the sacred oracles of God, to restore them to their primitive luster, and to wipe off that dust which by injuries of time and ignorance or negligence of transcribers was contracted, and to transmit them pure to posterity (whose endeavours, one would think, might have set the authors without the reach of calumny) have yet been aspers'd and slander'd, their labours calumniated, and their aims perverted. — That magnificent worke of the King of Spain's Bible could not protect the publisher, Arias Montanus, from the jealousies and calumnies of malignant spirits, of his own brethren; and he hardly escap'd the Inquisition. Erasmus his extraordinary paines, in publishing the Greek Testament, by comparing ancient copies and translations, was rail'd at by some Friars and ignorant zelots, as if he took upon him to CORRECT THE WORD OF GOD. For they cried out, he says, — quasi protinus actum esset de religione Christiana; vociferantur, καὶ σχιτλιαζουσιν, O cœlum! O terra! corrigit hic Evangelium! Walton's defence of himself, in Considerator consider'd: p. 3, 156.*

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ner of conducting it; and which tend either to invalidate or confirm, and will lead me to retract or adhere to, any of the particular observations. Not that I mean to insult the patience of the Reader with *every* remark that has been made; with things of little or no consequence to his instruction or entertainment: such, for instance, as have been, with uncommon pains, crowded into *two large pamphlets*, by which this subject and myself have had the honour of being abus'd. But the Reader shall be presented with such remarks only, as appear to be of consequence; for *many* of which my gratitude stands engag'd to Persons of the most distinguish'd eminence in this and other kinds of literature, in our own country. *Others* will be mention'd, which have been communicated, some privately some publicly, by the Learned in several foreign countries. And *a very few* remarks may, perhaps, be thought worth extracting from the volumes of my two antagonists --- the reverend Mr. *Fowler Comings*, and the reverend Mr. *Julius Bate*.

It has been my fortune (I don't know, whether it should be call'd *good* fortune, or the contrary) to be oppos'd in writing by such men, as (with their names prefix'd) have assum'd the comfortable claim of self-sufficiency;
and

and yet have prov'd themselves very incompetent judges of the point in question. Notwithstanding which, they have been magnificently applauded by their friends and by one another; merely from being permitted to pass without animadversion. But surely, a man must pay a very ungracious compliment to his own time, as well as to that of the Public; could he think himself justified in *writing answers* to all those, who may chance to think themselves considerable enough to be affronted, and capable of composing a pamphlet of remarks. Such writers should not think themselves ill-us'd, because neglected; nor triumph, as possess'd of conquest, because unanswer'd. 'Tis possible, writers may not be capable of being answer'd, because unintelligible. 'Tis possible, if understood, they may not be worth answering. And 'tis very possible, they may fully answer themselves; the weakness of their own arguments being a clear confutation of what they meant to establish and confirm.

And yet, on the other hand; when men stand forth, with protestations of the most sacred regard for *Truth*, with professions of the most holy zeal for *the glory of God*, and with complaints of irreparable injuries done to *Religion* by enemies under the mask of friends: it

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may be proper now and then to disabuse the public; and to convince common readers, how necessary it is --- that they should peruse with peculiar caution the works of *very dogmatical* and *very abusive* writers. Plenty of abuse is generally introduc'd, to help out a writer labouring under poverty of argument. And that my opponents, last nam'd, have had frequent recourse to this common but miserable expedient, is too notorious to be denied, and too gross to be palliated. I leave them both, unenvied, in the full possession of this point of superiority; as the cause, I mean to support, has no occasion for it; and because Religion has suffer'd greatly from the unchristian virulence and defamatory spirit, which are so frequently indulg'd in religious controversies, but which can admit no just excuse.

One of my present adversaries, sensible of *his* peccancy this way, has offer'd for his warm expressions this strange apology --- that *he was sometimes over-heated*. An apology; which, tho' it may be admitted for improprieties in the hurry of conversation, cannot well be claim'd for *compositions*, that have lain, or (to speak more properly on the present case) *should have lain* long before the eye, to be revis'd frequently and coolly. Nor is this offence lessen'd, but rather

rather aggravated; when men assume the appearance of superior sanctity, and varnish over their passionate invectives with pretending *the most ardent zeal for God's glory*: since petulance and abuse spring not so much from men's concern for the security of God's honour, as for the danger of their own.

Let me only observe farther, at present, with regard to both these opponents; who are as much over-heated with the spirit, as overloaded with the doctrine, of their master Mr. *Hutchinson* ---- that tho' *zeal*, when regulated by *knowledge*, is highly valuable; and the brighter it burns, the more beneficial; especially in this age of general languor and cold formality in Religion: yet, if instead of warming and enlightning, like the Sun, that zeal should prove only a meteor, void of all useful influence; its false light will then mislead the benighted traveller, and the more glaring the more dangerous.

As the nature of my design, already specified, includes a great variety of particulars; it has been recommended to divide the work, and publish it in *two or more parts*, as shall be found most convenient. At present then I shall postpone the consideration of such *objections* as

have been advanc'd by my *adversaries*, and also of such *remarks* as have been kindly communicated by my learned *Friends*; since the Reader will be the better qualified to judge of all such particulars, by having previously perus'd what is here offer'd to his consideration. For it will contribute greatly to a proper estimation of every remark made upon the Heb. Text, firmly to establish *some general principles*, which most nearly affect the state of this question. And the principles, which are here properly fundamental, are ---- *What opinion the Jews themselves, and the first Jewish editors, had of the State of the Heb. Text* ---- *What sort of MSS they chose, as their Standard, to print from* --- *What MSS are now extant, to compare with the Text so printed* --- *Whether the printed Chaldee Paraphrase can be urg'd properly, in proof of the perfection of our printed Heb. Text* ---- and, *What is the just authority of the Samaritan Pentateuch*. On each therefore of these particulars I proceed now to offer some observations; and, in the following order.

FIRST: as we have two printed copies of the Pentateuch, the Heb. and the Samaritan; which, tho' agreeing in the main, differ in many places from one another: and as some of these

these differences are very considerable, in respect to particular letters and single words; and also, as several whole Verses are now found in the latter, but not in the former: one part of my last Dissertation attempted to establish, as to *some* of these differences, the superior authority of the Samar. Pentateuch. Various have been the objections (as indeed was expected) to this part of my undertaking; and yet those objections, when consider'd hereafter, will (I presume) appear capable of being answer'd to satisfaction. At present, I consider *one text only*; but it is **THAT TEXT**, which has constantly been objected to the favourers of this Pentateuch: a text, which the advocates for the Heb. copies have insisted upon as decisive against the Samaritans; and which has been almost universally (and by those who have allow'd corruptions in the Heb. copies) admitted to contain so shocking a corruption made voluntarily by the Samaritans, that even the more equitable judges have join'd warmly with the Jews, upon this occasion. And there are men of very considerable learning, now living; who, to my great surprize, seem inclin'd to give up the whole Samar. Pentateuch as of no authority, on account of *this one* (as they also apprehend) notorious and undeniable corruption.

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The Reader will therefore readily conclude; that a point, so very important, may well claim to be consider'd in the first place.

SECONDLY: as the printed Heb. Text has been suppos'd to receive great authority from the printed Chaldee Paraphrase; *their* remarkable agreement requires here a careful consideration. For the argument has been frequently urg'd, with great appearance of weight, in the manner following---The Chald. Paraphrase was made from Heb. MSS near the time of Christ; and, of course, agreed with those MSS: it now agrees, generally, with the printed Heb. Text: therefore the printed Heb. Text agrees, generally, with the Heb. MSS, near the time of Christ. And then, by a second inference, it is concluded; that there cannot have happen'd so many mistakes, in transcribing these MSS, since the time of Christ, as is sometimes pretended. But, that many and considerable mistakes have been made by such transcribers, has been prov'd already: and what I propose at present, upon this point, is to acquaint the Reader ---- that *the Chald. Paraphrase has been itself corrupted, and corrupted in conformity to the before-corrupted Hebrew.* And when this shall be made evident; the
strong

strong argument, drawn from their agreement at present, will be satisfactorily confuted.

THIRDLY: as it is of great consequence to get all the light we can into *the sentiments of the Jews themselves*, as to the correctness or corruption of their MSS; and also with regard to the *first printers* of the Heb. text, and *what kind of MSS* they printed from; and yet very little seems to be known at present upon these interesting points: I hope to gratify the curiosity of the Learned (and strongly to confirm my own opinion already given) by publishing a very valuable MS, which I have lately discover'd in the Bodleian Library. It is catalogued N° 808, according to the *general* number of the Bodleian MSS; and it contains *a Latin translation of an Heb. preface, which R. Jacob Ben Chaim, who had the care of Bomberg's Heb. Bible, prefix'd to the Venice edition*: and the original is now to be found, printed in the Rabbinical character, in the second edition of that work.

LASTLY: after thus observing, what have been *the sentiments of the Jews themselves*, and *what sort of MSS* were made use of for printing the first Heb. Bibles; it may be then proper

per to consider --- *What MSS are still extant ;* and *how many*, and *of what nature*, in our own country : that so we may compare such MSS with the Bibles thus printed. And here I must acquaint the Learned, that I am now able greatly to encrease that satisfaction, which possibly they may have receiv'd from the discovery already made of SEVENTY Heb. MSS.

For I have been repeatedly honour'd with leave to examine the several Heb. MSS of the old Testament, which are preserv'd in that very ample and most valuable Collection of MSS, printed Books, and curious Productions both of Art and Nature ; which are fix'd by Royal and Public Munificence at *Montague House*, now THE BRITISH MUSEUM. A Place ! Which, from the constitutions happily establish'd by the public-spirited Curators of it (those truly Illustrious Personages, who frequently assemble there) must soon become the admiration of foreign Nations, as it is already one of the chief Honours of our own. In a cursory examination of these many and curious MSS, several various readings, of considerable moment, have been selected ; and these will be found inserted hereafter, at such places, as the nature of the following work shall require.

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And as the catalogue of the *Seventy* Heb. MSS, which I before publish'd, will be now augmented with *Twenty Five* at the British Museum; and also, with *Eight* found lately in the Bodleian Library, with *Three* more in the public Library at Cambridge, and with *One* in my own possession; amounting in the whole to ONE HUNDRED AND SEVEN VOLUMES (a Treasure! which, I presume, no other Nation * will pretend to equal, in the same way) I shall give here a new catalogue of them all together: dispos'd regularly, under the names of the several books of the old Testament. And this arrangement will discover to the Reader at one view ---- *how many* MSS of each book England can boast of --- *where* each MS is to be consulted --- *if not perfect*, how far defective; and whether at the beginning, middle, or end --- and also, in what *page* of each MS the beginning of each book of the Bible may readily be found.

* As to the Heb. MSS preserv'd in the *Vatican*; we can determine nothing with certainty, till we shall have examin'd the printed volume, which begins the account of the MSS in that Library. This useful work is now printing; and is to make 20 Fol. volumes. The first volume, which contains the Heb. and other Oriental MSS, has been publish'd at Rome about 2 years; and its arrival in England is expected with great impatience.

CHAPTER I;

on

THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH:

particularly,

The celebrated Corruption of *Deuteron. 27, 4.**Deuteron. 27, 4;*

SAMARITAN and HEBREW.

• לַחֲמֵשׁ • אֲלֵךְ • עֲלֵי •
 • עֲלֵי • אֲלֵךְ • עֲלֵי •
 • אֲלֵךְ • עֲלֵי • אֲלֵךְ •
 • עֲלֵי • אֲלֵךְ • עֲלֵי •

*Therefore it shall be, when ye be gone over
 Jordan, that ye shall set up these stones, which
 I command you this day, in mount GERIZIM;
 and thou shalt plaister them with plaister.*

והיה בעברכם את הירדן תקימו את האבנים
 האלה אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם היום בחר
 עיבל ושרת אותם בשיד:

*Therefore it shall be, when ye be gone over
 Jordan, that ye shall set up these stones, which
 I command you this day, in mount EBAL;
 and thou shalt plaister them with plaister.*

LET us now enter upon the first of the preceding articles; and, with all due fairness and candor, consider attentively *That Text*, on which the authority of the whole Samar. Pentateuch is suppos'd by some greatly to depend. And here, antecedently to the discussion of this point, it has been recommended as necessary to acquaint the Reader ---- how unanimous the Learned have been, in considering this as a point of principal importance; and how uniform, in determining here for the Jews and condemning the Samaritans. It would be tedious to particularize the names of all those, who have help'd to countenance the present opinion; and it would be still more tedious minutely to specify the peremptoriness of their determinations. *Bootius* and *Buxtorf* (the younger) *Carpzovius* and *Leusden*, with all their brother advocates for the integrity of the printed Heb. Text, must of course exclaim loudly upon this occasion: but these are of inferior authority. *Hottinger* and *Lightfoot*, *Patrick* and *Calmet*, *Usher* and *Du-Pin*, *Prideaux* and *Walton*, *Father Simon* and *Father Houbigant* -- THESE, when form'd into a body for the maintenance of any opinion, scarce leave one the liberty to hazard a bare conjecture, that such men can be all mistaken.

Mark, says Lightfoot, the impudence of these Samaritans; see their bold and wicked interpolation, their notorious falsification of the words of Moses! ¹ The word Garizim, says F. Simon, demonstrates the irreligion of the Samaritans. ² Daring substitution, says Usher; an impious change of the true word Ebal! ³ Hottinger affirms, that the Samar. Text cannot be authentic, principally because of this malicious corruption; and that the quality of this corruption renders it so glaring — ut pertinacem esse oporteat, qui contrahiscere aufit. Montem Garizim Samaritani בית המקדש (domum sanctuarii) appellant, ex Deut. 27, 4; ubi legunt Garizim. En audaciam! pro eo quod contextus sacer, eumque sequentes interpretes reliqui omnes, habent Ebal, Garizim substituunt cultores supersticiosi --- sacrilega hæc omnino, & plane impia Samaritanorum fraus! ⁴ Prideaux observes --- To reconcile the greater veneration to mount Gerizim, the Samaritans have been guilty of a very great prevarication in corrupting the text, and made a sacrilegious change. All other copies and translations make against them, and

¹ Vol. 2, pag. 505, 506, 540.

² Disquisit. Criticæ; pag. 84.

³ Epist. ad Cappellum; pag. 20.

⁴ De Heptaplis Paris: sect. 13. Exer. Anti-Morin. p. 62.

prove

*prove the corruption to be on the side of the Samaritans. And this voluntary corruption of theirs, to serve an ill cause, gives the less authority to their copy in all other places.*¹ And lastly, Bp Walton affirms ---- *Locum illum (Deut. 27, 4) mendosum esse in exemplaribus Samaritanis, NEGARI NON POSSE; cum in omnibus codicibus Hebræis, omnibusque versionibus antiquis, legatur Ebal, non Garizim.*²

But, however desperate the cause of the Samaritans may, in this case, be thought; and is, at present, peremptorily pronounc'd: it will not, I presume, be unpardonable for me to appear in their defence --- an advocate for (what appears to me) much-injur'd Innocence, and zealous for the true honour of *the original Word of God*. Every one should pay a deference to the sentiments of men greatly eminent in literature, and be thankful for the instructions convey'd down in the works of the Learned now dead, or communicated by the Learned still living: but no incense must be offer'd up to the authority of men, *in things pertaining to God*, without previous examination. And, wherever *the opinions of the most Learned and Truth* seem to be at variance;

¹ Connection; part 1, book 6. section 3.

² Prolegomena; 11, 16.

a protest, humbly enter'd by reason and conscience, never can be criminal. Perhaps this may be no unreasonable apology for my self; when I am about to disallow the authorities of the many great names before enumerated; and to differ from most of the Learned, upon the following point --- *the certainty of the Samaritans having corrupted their Pentateuch, on the article of Gerizim and Ebal.* The point is sufficiently considerable to demand a fair hearing, and an upright sentence; and such evidences shall be here produc'd, as will make it at least *probable*, that the corrupters of holy Scripture, in this instance, were *the Jews*.

I enter upon this enquiry with the greater readiness; because it will enable me to confute one chapter, which has not yet been answer'd, in that famous book, *The grounds and reasons of the Christian Religion*; wrote by that great champion of infidelity, *Anthony Collins Esqr.* For this author, in that work so remarkably replete with malice against Christianity, has one whole chapter, *to prove the Samar. Pentateuch corrupted*, chiefly from the very text now under consideration. And he calls this a *corrupted passage*, OF GREAT IMPORTANCE; *which affects the authority of the Samar. Pentateuch the more, in that it was a DESIGN'D*
corrup-

corruption. And, that this charge against the Samar. Pentateuch has hitherto been conceded to Mr. Collins, as unanswerable --- I presume first, because I find no traces of any reply to that whole chapter; especially, as to *the capital corruption* there insisted upon: and because, in the subsequent *Defence of the grounds and reasons* against the many Answers publish'd, the same wilful corruption is again roundly objected (*pag. 76*) without the least notice of any reply to the prior mention of it. I shall therefore attempt to perfect the many valuable Answers to that dangerous book, by a particular confutation of this one chapter: which confutation will perhaps follow most properly, as *a supplement to the other observations* propos'd upon this subject. And here then, the clearest method may be --- first to produce such arguments, as otherthrow *the certainty* of this corruption's being made by *the Samaritans*; and then such, as will induce *a probability* of its being made by *the Jews*.

It seems necessary to prefix a state of the dispute, before we proceed to any particular observations. And here we may remark, first; that GOD, by Moses, commands the Israelites, when they shall have pass'd over Jordan into the land of Canaan, *to put the blessing upon*
Geri-

Gerizim, and the curse upon Ebal; two mountains, situated in the center of the promis'd land between Dan and Beersheba; two mountains near each other, and having between them (at the foot of Gerizim) a small town anciently call'd *Sichem* or *Shechem*, but afterwards *Neapolis*, and now *Naplofe*. * Besides this command, given in *Deut.* 11, 29; we read again in ch. 27; 12, 13: *these shall stand upon mount Gerizim, to bless the people; and these upon mount Ebal, to curse.* Secondly: it is commanded in verse 4th &c. that *they should set up great stones, and plaister them with plaister*; on which they were to write *the Law of God*: and that they should also build *an Altar unto the Lord*. Now the mount, which was to be thus dignified with the LAW and the ALTAR, is in the Heb. text *Ebal*, and in the Samar. *Gerizim*. Thirdly: about one thousand years afterwards, the Samaritans built a *Temple* upon mount *Gerizim*; which was one of the principal causes of the hatred, so very remarkable,

* *Naplofa*: see Maundrell's travels, Edit. 3. pag. 59. Thus also Peter a Valle (who brought from the East the only MS copy of the *Samar. Version* now in Europe) says, in his letter to Morinus, 1630 — *Samaritani hodie perpauci sunt: aliquot reperi in Ægypto, Cairi & Gazæ; quosdam alios in Palestina, in civitate Sichem (a Turcis Naplus nuncupata) quæ nunc Samariæ Metropolis est; alios denique Damasci in Syria.*

between those two nations. And it is, upon this account, rationally agreed by the Learned ---- that the variation in this text is not the effect of carelessness, but *a wilful corruption*; and that either the Samaritans have, in their copies, put *Gerizim* (instead of Ebal) to recommend their Temple; or that the Jews have, in their copies, put *Ebal* (instead of Gerizim) out of opposition to it.

Now that this corruption was made by the Samaritans, Walton (and with him join expressly Hottinger and Prideaux) affirms to be undeniable; and that for the following reasons --- *cum in omnibus codicibus Hebræis, omnibusque versionibus antiquis, legatur Ebal, non Gerizim*. Let us examine these reasons; and probably we shall find them very unsatisfactory. Objection --- *Ebal is the word in all the Heb. copies; therefore Ebal is the original word*. I answer; this is almost taking the point for granted. The dispute is, whether the present Heb. or Samar. copies retain the original word; and the argument infers, that *Ebal* is the original word, because it is the word in the present Heb. copies. Should it be urg'd, that *Gerizim* is the original word, because it is the word in the present Samar. copies; would this argument be allow'd conclusive? Certainly not;

and yet it concludes full as justly as the former: but indeed, neither of these arguments concludes any thing at all.

The other objection has a more formidable appearance; and it is this --- *Ebal is the word in all the ancient versions*. Without contradicting this assertion at present; let us examine the weight of it, supposing it had been true. Were the question here concerning a corruption, introduc'd 600 years after Christ; our ancient versions had then been proper evidences. But as the question is concerning a corruption, introduc'd about 400 years before Christ; I cannot see, how these versions can be of any use: since they are all *too late*, to be proper evidences. This will, upon reflection, be readily allow'd as to all; excepting the *Greek* version. For certainly versions, made from the Heb. text several hundred years after an alteration had been made wilfully either in the Hebrew or Samar. text, can be of no use (in this instance) in favour of the Hebrew; since they can only be evidence for the state of the Hebrew copies, from which they were translated, and not for copies five, or six, or seven hundred years older. And as to the Greek version of the Pentateuch; *that* is allow'd to have been made about 280 years before

fore Christ. But surely a version, made by *Jews*, an hundred years after the wilful corruption of this text, can be no proper proof, that this text of the *Jews* had not been alter'd by *themselves*, one hundred years before. There can be no reasonable doubt, but that this corruption was made (either by the Samaritans in favour of their temple, or by the Jews out of opposition to it) soon after that temple was built. And it was built, as Prideaux allows, during the reign of Darius Nothus; about 409 years before Christ. All the ancient versions therefore, which have been made from the Heb. text, being made after the corruption had been introduc'd, are too late to be admitted as evidences, that can acquit the Jews, or convict the Samaritans.

But it must not pass unremark'd, that it is by no means true --- that *all the ancient versions do read Ebal in the text before us*; notwithstanding the round assertions of so many learned men. For, first; there is deliver'd down to us an ancient version of the Samar. Pentateuch; express'd in the Samar. letters, and wrote in *the Samar. dialect*, which is a mixture of Chaldee and Hebrew. And there is no man of learning, but will allow; that a version from the *Samar. text* is as just an authority in

favour of the *Samar.* text, as a version from the *Heb.* text can be in favour of the *Hebrew*. Now Walton says (*proleg.* 11, 20) *versionem Hebræo-Samaritani textus triplicem quidam statuunt, viz. Samaritanam, Arabicam & Græcam. De duabus prioribus nullum est dubium, utramque enim habui --- de tertiâ dubitatur. Prima versio facta est in dialectum Samaritanam, quo tempore cum Judæis in religione convenerant Samaritani. Constat valde antiquam esse --- non multo post templum Garizitanum extructum --- verisimile est, non multo post Esdras & Nehemiam, versionem hanc constatam fuisse.** Here then is one version, and that before allow'd to be of equal, nay, superior antiquity to the version of the LXX; and this very ancient version reads *Gerizim*, in the text in question. As to the second version from the *Samar. Pentateuch*, namely *the Arabic*; this has never yet been printed. A MS copy of it, in the *Samar.* character, makes a part of that

* *Hodierna Samaritanorum versio perantiqua, ut existimatur. Montfauc. Prelim. Dissert. to Orig. Hex. p. 19. Credamus multis de causis certissime, Samaritanam Pentateuchi versionem omnibus (quæ ad nos pervenerunt) versionibus majorem ætatem ferre. Sententiæ Waltoni accedimus, qua traditur, versionem hanc, haud ita multo post templum auspiciis Saneballetis extructum, fuisse extructam. Exercitat. in Samar. Pentat. per Keilholz, Wittemberg. 4o. 1754.*

vast treasure of MSS preserv'd in the Bodleian Library; and is catalogued N^o 3128. It is indeed imperfect; but fortunately contains that part of Deuteronomy, which we are now considering: and the word in this version is also *Gerizim*, גֵּרִיזִים. And let us remark; that Walton, who had this version (*utramque enim habui*, says he) should not thus positively have asserted the consent of ALL the versions; when he had this version, and *this very copy* of it, in his hands. There is also an Arabic version of the Samar. Pentateuch, in the *Arabic* character; a compleat copy of which, most elegantly transcrib'd, was bought at Damascus in 1663; and is now deposited in the Bodleian Library, catalogued N^o 3133. It was presented to our University by the learned Dr Joseph Taylor, Fellow of St John's College: who has wrote his name on the first leaf, with this striking motto ÆTERNITATI STUDEO ----- somewhat fimilar to Lord Clarendon's motto, from Thucydides, Κτῆνα ἴσ' αἰ.* This version also confirms the word *Gerizim*; reading here في جبل جرزيم. And lastly; as to a *Greek* version of the Samar. Pentateuch; if

* Lord Clarendon has a second motto, equally remarkable; which is --- NE QUID FALSI DICERE AUDEAT, NE QUID VERI NON AUDEAT.

there

there ever was one, * *that* (we may fairly suppose) read also *Gerizim*, in this verse ; in conformity to the Samar. copy, from whence it was translated.

We see then, that as the evidence of *one text* destroys the evidence of *the other* ; and as there is, in fact, the authority of *versions* to oppose to the authority of *versions* ; no certain argument, or rather, no argument at all can be drawn from hence, to fix the corruption on either side. And therefore I shall now offer several observations ; which, when consider'd all together, will (I presume) render it *highly probable*, that this memorable corruption was made by *the Jews* ; and that the word in dispute was originally *Gerizim* --- the mount, on which God commanded the Israelites to write *the Law*, and erect *the Altar*.

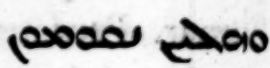
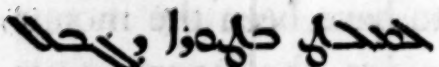
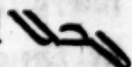
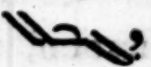
I. The first argument, to render it probable, that *Gerizim* was the mount, on which

* Hottinger contends, that there was such a Greek version ; and that it was made from the Samar. text, above 2000 years since. His words are these — *Meminit Cyrillus, ad Gen. 4, Διαλεχμεν εις το πιδιον παρ' αδειν, inquit, των λοιπων κειται τα ρηματα το Καθ' ως Αβελ, αλλ' αδι παρ' Εδουοις παρα δε τοις ισδδμνησενται κειται, εχει δε αδια και το Σαμμεριτιον. Ubi per Samariticum Codicem intelligitur versio Græca, sine dubio, circa tempora Alexandri Magni aut paulo post introducta, et ex Samaritanorum codice Hebræo translata. Exer. Anti-Morin. p. 28.*

the

the Altar was to be erected, and burnt-offerings and peace-offerings were to be offer'd, is ---- because GERIZIM is *universally* allow'd (allow'd repeatedly in the *Heb.* as well as the Samar. Pentateuch, and of course allow'd by the *Jews* themselves) to have been the mount of THE BLESSINGS; i. e. the mount, *from the top of which* (or, on the side of which) the several Blessings were to be proclaim'd. And it seems very improbable, that the sacrificers of *peace-offerings*, (which implied a state of *favour* with GOD) should by divine command sacrifice upon *Ebal*, confessedly the mount of *Cursings*.

As to the preceding assertion, that *Gerizim* is *universally* allow'd to have been the mount of *Blessings*; it seems necessary here to obviate one objection. The works of *Ephraem Syrus*, who flourish'd about the year of Christ 370, were a few years since magnificently printed at Rome, in six Folio volumes; two of which contain the *Syriac commentary* of this ancient writer on *the Syriac version* of the following books of the old Testament --- from *Genesis* to the end of *Kings*; and also on *Job*, *Isai*, *Jer.*, *Lam.*, *Ex.*, *Dan.*, *Hos.*, *Jo.*, *Am.*, *Ob.*, *Mic.*, *Zach.*, *Malachi*. In the first *Syriac* vol. (printed 1737) the *Syriac* text is publish'd from a MS in the
Vatican,

Vatican, and a Latin version is added by the learned *Peter Benedict*. The Syriac text of *Deuter. 27, 13*, as cited in this commentary, perfectly agrees with the Syriac version in the English Polyglott; and it reads   *et hi stabunt ad maledicendum in monte Gebal, i. e. Ebal*. And yet the Lat. version (in Ephraem Syrus) strangely substitutes *Gerizim* in the place of *Ebal*; reading --- *et hi surgent ad maledicendum in monte GARIZIM*. But, that the Syriac word  means *Ebal*, is demonstrable from this same commentary at *Josh. 8, 30*; where the very same words  necessarily signify *on mount Ebal*. The Syriac version in the Polyglott reads the same two words, in both these places.

How this Latin version therefore, in defiance of its own Syriac text, came to read *Garizim* here, as *the mount of cursing*, is very difficult to conceive. 'Tis scarce possible to suppose this the effect of *design*; because men of such eminence, as superintended this edition, must be thought superior to the base intention of *vilifying mount Gerizim* by this false translation. And yet, 'tis equally unaccountable, how an *accidental* mistake, of this nature, could possibly

bly escape the observation, and the correction, of such truly-critical men --- as *Asseman*, the Vatican Librarian --- *Scandar*, the interpreter of the Oriental Languages at Rome ---- and also *Benedict*, the translator. For Asseman assures us --- *accurate legi commentaria, e Syriaco in Latinum versa, omniaque ea catholicæ doctrinæ consona reperi*. Scandar says --- *commentarios accurate perlegi; versionem, summa qua licuit diligentia, examinavi*. And Benedict himself affirms --- *quantum in me fuit sedulo curavi, ne quod verbum Syriacum, quod non Latino exprimeretur, prætermitterem*. But, whether this false version, on so very memorable a point, be the consequence of *chance* or *design*; yet, because it is *a false version*, it can be no exception to the assertion beforemention'd ---- that *Gerizim* is universally allow'd to have been the mount of Blessings.

II. When the Samaritans determin'd to erect a temple amongst themselves, after being *forbid* to join in rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem; no man can doubt, but they would choose some place signally honour'd by God or by his Prophets; the more effectually to oppose the fame of the Jewish temple, and the more easily to vindicate their separate worship. Now

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Gerizim and Ebal were mountains, which had been fix'd upon by GOD himself, who commanded a form of Blessings to be pronounc'd from the former, and of Cursings from the latter; and one of them was to be, and was, honour'd with *the Law of GOD* and *an Altar for divine worship*. Must we not suppose, that this Altar continued there for some hundred years; and that the memory and fame of it continued in the country for many hundred years longer? And as these two mountains were near together, both in the tribe of Ephraim, and both therefore in the possession of the Samaritans, so that they might choose which they pleas'd, to erect their temple upon; would they not prefer *that mountain*, which had been of old, by GOD's own command, the place of GOD's worship? Gerizim they did, in fact, choose; and there is therefore strong probability, that GERIZIM was the mountain of worship formerly; and not Ebal, which (we find) they rejected.

III. The different nature of these mountains furnishes another strong argument for the preference in favour of Gerizim. For *this* mountain, standing on the south, with its surface declining towards the north, is shelter'd from
the

the heat of the sun by its own shade; whereas *Ebal*, looking southward, is more open to the sun falling directly upon it. 'Tis no wonder therefore, that the former should be cloath'd with a beautiful verdure, while the surface of the latter is more scorch'd up and unfruitful. This remarkable distinction is not only boasted of by the Samaritans themselves, but noted also by Maundrell (*pag.* 61) and other travellers. The famous Jew, R. Benjamin, (who visited *Sichem* about 600 years ago) gives the following account in his Itinerary --- *In Neapoli, olim dicta Sichem, centum circiter Cuthæi, legis tantum Mosaicæ observatores, quos Samaritanos appellant. Hi sacerdotes habent ex Aaronis prosapia --- offerunt holocausta in monte Gerizim, & hanc esse domum sanctuarii affirmant. In hoc monte diversi sunt fontes ac pomaria; at mons Ebal aridus est instar lapidum ac petrarum.**

Reland (in his dissertation concerning Gerizim) is of opinion, that the very names of Gerizim and *Ebal* denote fruitfulness and sterility: adding --- *ipsa utriusque montis facies Benedictionem & Maledictionem, in eo peragendam, luculenter exprimit.* He remarks also --- *montes in Palæstina plurimi triticum proferunt, & alias frumenti species; quæ est eruditissimi Maundrelli,*

* See *pag.* 38 — 40; edit. Const. l'Empereur.

membri collegii Exeterensis, observatio. The celebrated Ludolfus, in his notes on the Samar. Letters sent him, says (p. 20) --- *retulit mihi Jacobus Levi Tomerita, montem Garizim esse fertilissimum, fontibus & scaturiginibus plurimis irriguum; montem Hebal contra plane aridum & sterilem esse.* After which follows the inference of this great man, (whose surprize was probably founded on the common mistake) --- *ubi pie mirari licet, cur Deus in isto Maledictionis monte deserto jusserit ædificare altare & sacrificare holocausta, ibique epulari & lætari; & non potius in monte Garizim!*

IV. About 240 years after one of these mountains had been thus consecrated; when Jotham made that beautiful and solemn oration (which begins --- *Hearken unto me, ye men of Shechem, that God may bearken unto you: Jud. 9, 7*) he must at that time know, which mountain had the Law and the Altar. One should therefore suppose; that, to give the greater weight to his address, he would speak from thence: and 'tis certain, that he spoke from Gerizim.

This then probably was, of old, the place of religious worship to the inhabitants of Shechem; which town lay coolly situated at the foot of Gerizim, on the north side; and was there-

therefore shelter'd from the sun by the adjoining (or, according to Josephus, ¹ *the superimpending*) mountain. This mountain was certainly the highest of the two; ² and Card. Noris (*de Epoch. Syro-Maced.* p. 540--543) gives a coin of Caracalla, which expresses the many steps by which it was ascended. The author of the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* (who wrote about the year 330) calls mount Gerizim *Agazaren*, which Reland corrects to *Argarizin*; and properly: especially as the Alexandrian MS reads *Γαζιρεν*, in *Deut.* 11, 29. Of Gerizim then this author says --- *Ibi dicunt Samaritani, Abraham sacrificium obtulisse; & ascenduntur ad summum montem gradus numero ccc.* Thus also Damascius tells us, in Photius, that *Isidorus came απο της εν Παλαιστη Νεας Πολεως, προς ορει κατωκισμενης τω Αργαριζω* --- And he says, that *Abraham was the first of all the ancient Jews, who sacrificed on that mountain.* Noris, pag. 541, 543.

Upon these words we may remark, that the tradition of Abraham's sacrificing there (tho' some may think it founded only upon that mountain's having really been the place of

¹ Το ορος το Γαριζην υπερεκείται της Σικιμων πολεως. *Lib.* 5, 7, 2.

² Το Γαριζην ορος των κατω την Σαμωρειαν ορων εστιν υψηλοτατον. Joseph. *lib.* 11, 8, 2.

sacrifice in very ancient days, and *that* is of consequence to the present argument) seems founded upon truth. We read, in *Gen.* 12, 6 &c. *And Abram passed thro' the land unto the place of Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh (שכם עד אלון מורה) and the Lord appeared unto him, and said, Unto thy seed will I give this land. And there builded he an altar ---- and he removed from thence unto a mountain on the east of Bethel.* Probably he remov'd, for his second station, to the mountain near Bethel, from his first station on mount Gerizim near Sichem; and upon Gerizim, perhaps, he built his first altar, and sacrific'd. But, if not upon the mountain; certainly in Sichem, *at the very foot of it.* And how extreamly remarkable is it, that the great Father of the Jewish nation, as soon as he was taken into covenant with the true G O D, and receiv'd the promise of the land of Canaan, should offer up his first sacrifice, and be favour'd with the glorious appearance of G O D himself, either upon, or at the foot of, mount Gerizim! For thus Moses (*Deut.* 11, 30) describes the situation of Gerizim and Ebal (for the Scripture, by way of greater dignity, ever puts Gerizim before Ebal) *Are they not on the other side Jordan --- beside the plains of Moreh* אצל אלוני מורה and in the Samar.

אצל

אצל אלון מורה מול שכם. From which comparison it is clear, that (whatever be the precise meaning of the words אלון or מורה) the same place is meant in both instances.

V. In accusations, where the guilt of the accus'd is only to be presum'd; much will depend always upon *character*. And in the present case, the Samaritans will be *less likely* to have wilfully corrupted the Law of Moses; if it can be prov'd, that they had a great veneration for it. When the truly-learned Dr. Huntington was in the East, he visited the Samaritans at Sichem; and his letter to Ludolfus acquaints us, that *one of these Samaritans had a MS copy of the Law hung round his neck, affectionately carrying it in his bosom*. Sozomen (who flourish'd about the year 440, and was educated in their neighbourhood) calls the Samaritans τὰ Μωσέως νόμος τὴν μάλιστα ζήλωτας: lib. 7, c. 18. Maimonides * says of them; that, after the days of their idolatry mention'd in Scripture, *didicerunt legem, & intellexerunt eam juxta sensum literalem; & præcepta, quæ observabant, observabant accuratissime & omni animi contentione*. Vid. not. ad cod. Misn. Bera-

* Maimonides, qui primum inter Judæos desit nugari, floruit 1170. Vid. indicem Spenc. leg. Heb.

coth, cap. 8, sec. 8. And on the same treatise, (*cap. 7. sec. 1*) Obadiah de Bartenora, another celebrated Jew, as honestly remarks of them --- *observabant legem scriptam; & omne præceptum, quod tenuerunt, id longe diligentius observabant quam ipsi Israelitæ.* Well therefore might Hottinger say ---- *Samaritani, ipsorum Judæorum testimonio, sunt legicolæ rigidissimi.* Exer. Anti-Mor. p. 18; 14, 15.

VI. In St. John's Gospel (*ch. 4*) is recorded a very remarkable interview between our blessed Saviour and a Samaritan woman, near this very mountain. Does Christ there charge the Samaritans with having arrogated to mount Gerizim honours, which did not belong to it? Does *He* abuse the inhabitants of Sichem for *such a race of wretches*, as they have been lately represented? The Samar. woman, finding Christ to be a Prophet, earnestly and immediately proposes the grand subject of dispute --- *Our fathers worshipped in this mountain &c.* In answer to which, he does not give the preference, even to Jerusalem: much less does he say, that *Ebal* had been the mount really honour'd by G O D; and not Gerizim, as her fathers had falsely pretended. *

* The words of our Saviour — *Ye worship ye know not what* — shall be consider'd hereafter.

'Tis farther observable, that this Samar. woman express'd her expectation of the *Messias* --- that Christ made a clear declaration to her of his being so --- that she believ'd him to be so --- that she went hastily into Sichem, full of the interesting discovery --- that, at the importunate request of the inhabitants, Christ continued in the town, at the foot of Gerizim, for two days --- and, that many of those Samaritans were such candid judges, so ingenuously dispos'd to embrace the truth; that they said: *Now we believe --- we have heard him ourselves; and we know, that this is indeed THE CHRIST, the Saviour of the world.* On which words Lightfoot remarks --- *Here is a confession of faith higher by some degree than the Jews common creed concerning the Messias; for they held him only for a Saviour of the Jewish nation: and so we may see, how deeply and cordially these Samaritans had drunk in the water of life, so as to acknowledge Christ in his proper character.* The comment of St. Chrysostom on the behaviour of this woman and her friends, in preference to that of the Jews, is worthy of our observation. Οὕτω κατεχέλας ἐκείνη τοῖς λεγομένοις, ὡς καὶ ἑτέροισι καλεσάμην. Ἰσραῖτιοι δὲ, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐκαλῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς βουλομένους προσελθεῖν ἐκώλυον. Μιμησώμεθα τοίνυν τὴν Σαμαρετινὴν --- ὅρας κρίσιν ἀδελ-

κασον της Γιωαικος, απο των πραγμάτων ψηφίζομενης
και τῷ πατριάρχῃ και τῷ Χριστῷ. Αλλ' οὐκ Ἰσδαιοι εἶπας,
--- Ἰδὲ Σαμαρείται και Γαλιλαιοι πιστευουσιν, εἰς αἰσχρ-
νην των Ἰσδαιων· ευρισκονταί δὲ Γαλιλαιων οἱ Σαμαρεῖται
βελτιους. *

This head being meant to vindicate, in general, the credit of the ancient Samaritans; I shall add, that as Christ was pleas'd to manifest great favour to these his ready disciples at Sichem, so he draws an amiable character of the beneficent and charitable man, in his parable of *the good Samaritan*. The learned Postellus (in his book *De linguarum 12 characteribus*, Par. 1538) mentioning the Samaritans, says --- *Samaritanus ille a Christo, in parabola, animo magis pio & sincero declaratus est quam sacerdos (Judæus) qui legis intumescerebat gloria*. And he adds --- *ipsos Samaritanos cane pejus & angue oderint Judæi*. But to the preceding mention of the parable, we should not forget to add a much stronger authority in their favour, given by the same divine instructor. And how must it humble the pride of Jews, and

* To this testimony we may add that of *Ephraïm*; which is also very favourable to the general character of the Samaritans, especially upon a comparison with that of the Jews — Ελεγχος τῆς Ἰσδαιων σκληροκαρδίας ην Σαμαρεῖται ευπειθεῖα· και το ἐν ἐκείνοις ἀπειθεῖν ἐν τῇ τῶν ημεροτητι ἀφαινεται. Καὶ ορατω παλιν ὁ φιλεμαθης ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΑΜΦΟΙΝ ΕΞΕΩΣ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑΝ.

CON-

confound the insolence of some other revilers of the Samaritans; to peruse the history of *a real fact* --- of a wonderful and gracious miracle, wrought at the same time upon nine Jews and one Samaritan! The history is not less pertinent than remarkable; and let us give it a moment's attention.

Behold, first, and wonder at, the behaviour of these *Jews*; of these nine Jews, all branded with everlasting infamy in the sacred page, for the most astonishing unthankfulness: mark'd, as men devoid of gratitude, as lost to all sense of benefit; men, who acted as if they had conferr'd an honour upon Christ himself by vouchsafing to be heal'd by him! Withdraw now the eye from such objects of detestation; and view with pleasure the one, poor, humble, thankful, *Samaritan*: who is fill'd, almost overpower'd, with his thoughts of the mighty Blessing! See, how the pious transport works upon his grateful soul! *When he saw*, as soon as ever he perceives *himself healed*, he turns back to thank the gracious power that healed him: he breaks forth into *praises*; he *glorifies* his Benefactor; he glorifies him *with a loud voice*; he glorifies him as being *GOD*; *HE* must be *GOD* (he thinks) who could be so wonderful in goodness; and then, struck with this awful

inference, he falls prostrate *at the feet of Christ*, and devoutly worships him! In short; the Samaritan seems so exuberant in his acknowledgments, as if his generous heart felt distress from the ingratitude of his companions; and wish'd by his own unbounded thankfulness to atone for the conduct of *those Jews*, who were no sooner heal'd by Christ, than they all shamefully *forsook him and fled*. St. Luke's account is this --- *Ten men, that were lepers, lifted up their voices, and said; Jesus, master! have mercy on us. And he said; Go, shew yourselves unto the priests. And as they went, they were cleansed. And one of them, when he saw that he was healed, turned back; and with a loud voice glorified God, and fell down at his* feet, giving him thanks: and HE WAS A SAMARITAN. And Jesus said; Were there not ten cleansed? But, where are the nine? There are not found, that returned to give glory to God; save this stranger!* Chap. 17.

* As the pronoun *αυτου* in this place may not seem properly applicable to *Θης*; possibly, the Syr. Æthiop. & Persic versions have preserv'd the true reading — *at the feet of Jesus*. And yet, perhaps, the common reading is as easily vindicated, as the words — *feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with HIS OWN blood*: Act. 20, 28. But here, our very ancient Bodleian MS of the *Acts*, catalogued N° 1119, reads ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΝ (not ΤΟΥΘΥ i. e. *τῆς Θης*, but) ΤΟΥΚΥ i. e. *τῆς Κυριας*.

If it be said, that this Samaritan and his contemporaries liv'd long after the time, when this famous text (*Deut. 27, 4*) was corrupted; and therefore (tho' the disposition of a people is indeed to be collected from the behaviour of individuals, yet) *their* good character is not conclusive in favour of *their ancestors*: this is acknowledg'd readily. And no greater stress is laid upon the particulars of this article, than to establish *the general character* of the Samaritans; in opposition to those writers, who revile *that people*, of all ages, as *a race of wretches* the most profligate and most abandon'd.

VII. If then, from this worthy disposition of the Samaritans, and from their profound veneration for the law of Moses, *they* should be thought *less likely* to have made the wilful corruption, which is consider'd in the present chapter; it may be now observ'd -- that, should this wilful corruption be charg'd upon *the Jews*, it will not be the first charge against *them* of this particular nature. St. JEROM, commenting on *Galat. 3, 10*, (*It is written; Cursed is every one, that continueth not in all things, which are written in the book of the law, to do them*) has the following very remarkable words.

Hunc

Hunc morem habeo, ut quotiescunque ab Apostolis de veteri instrumento aliquid sumitur, recurram ad originales libros; & diligenter inspiciam, quomodo in suis locis scripta sint. Inveni itaque in Deuteronomio hoc ipsum apud LXX interpretes ita positum: maledictus omnis homo, qui non permanferit in omnibus sermonibus legis hujus. --- Ex quo incertum habemus, utrum LXX interpretes addiderint omnis homo & in omnibus; an in veteri Hebraico ita fuerit, & postea A JUDÆIS DELETUM SIT. In hanc me autem suspicionem illa res stimulat, quod verbum omnis & in omnibus, quasi sensui suo necessarium, ad probandum illud, quod quicumque ex operibus legis sunt, sub maledicto sint. APOSTOLUS, vir Hebrææ peritiæ, & in lege doctissimus, NUNQUAM PROTULISSET; nisi in Hebræis voluminibus haberetur. Quam ob causam SAMARITANORUM Hebræa volumina relegens, inveni כל (quod interpretatur omnis sive omnibus) scriptum esse, & cum LXX interpretibus concordare. Frustra igitur ILLUD TULERUNT JUDÆI, ne viderentur esse sub maledicto, si non possent omnia complere quæ scripta sunt: cum ANTIQUIORES alterius quoque gentis literæ id positum fuisse testentur.*

* The Eng. version in this verse of Deuteronomy, as in many other places, allows the corruption of the present Heb. copies.

'Tis true; it has been frequently asserted (in order to evade the force of this weighty determination) that *Jerom could not find the word in any Samar. MS, because he did not know the Samar. letters.* And, that he did not know those letters, has been pronounc'd fully evident, from the very wrong description he has given of *the last letter of the Alphabet.* But surely --- to give the direct lie to so venerable an Author, at least without very ample proof, can hardly be excus'd; and yet in this case the charge is as false, as it is rash and unconsider'd. For the evidence amounts to nothing more than this --- *the MODERN Samar. Thau is not like Jerom's description; and therefore (a strange inference!) the ANCIENT Samar. Thau WAS not like Jerom's description.* The description is this -- *antiquis Hebræorum literis, quibus usque hodie utuntur Samaritani, extrema litera Thau Crucis habet similitudinem.* Comment on Ezek. 9, 4.

Now that ancient letters differ'd greatly from the modern, as to their shape; no man of learning can possibly be ignorant. And that *the Samar. Thau* had formerly *the very shape* assign'd

For, as it inserts other *necessary* words elsewhere, so here it inserts the word *all*; noting it with a different character, as *deficient in the present Hebrew.*

it

it so expressly by this ancient author, has been prov'd from the best authorities, by Reland and Ottius, Montfaucon and Chishull; by Bianconi, in his late dissertation *De antiquis litteris Hebræorum*, 1748; and also by Dr. Bernard, in his Table of Alphabets, call'd *Orbis eruditi Litteratura, a Characterè Samaritico deducta* --- which Table being highly curious and valuable in itself, and grown much more so because extremely scarce; the Public will be soon oblig'd with a new edition of it, greatly improv'd, by the learned Dr. Morton, Librarian at *the British Museum*. *

This vindication of St. Jerom will by no means be thought a digression; as it was necessary to establish the authority of so great a writer whose testimony is so very material, as to *the Jews having wilfully corrupted their*

* If it should be possible for any one, to doubt the authorities of so many learned writers; there are in England several genuine Samar. Coins, on which the 𐤓 is uniformly express'd by a *Cross*. One of these, of small brass, in excellent preservation, is (with 8 other Samar. Coins) preserv'd in the valuable and elegant collection of Mr. Duane, at Lincoln's Inn. And on this curious Coin the 𐤓 , in form of a *cross*, occurs 3 times; the inscription being 𐤓𐤕𐤕𐤓 𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓 𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓 . Another Coin, of the same small brass, having on one side the words just specified, and on the other side the same *unknown characters* as upon the reverse of the preceding Coin, has been publish'd by F. Harduin. See his *Pliny*, Paris. 1723; vol. 2, tab. 7, pag. 432.

Penta-

Pentateuch. I shall just remark, that not only the Samar. text and version, printed in the French and Eng. Polyglotts, but also *all* our Samar. MSS (which contain this verse) read כָּל *omnis*, agreeably to those Samar. MSS examin'd by St. Jerom. And therefore 'tis matter of great surprize, that the learned *Cellarius* should affirm the direct contrary; at least, as to the printed copies of the Samar. Pentateuch: for he says ---- *Neque in Ebræo-Samaritano, neque in versione Samar. bodie כָּל omnis apparet.* Horæ Samar. p. 55.

Let us proceed now to another instance of wilful corruption, which seems equally clear and express. The book of *Judges* acquaints us with the shameful conduct of some in the tribe of Dan; who first stole Micah's idol, and then publicly establish'd idolatry, appointing one Jonathan and his sons as priests. Concerning this Jonathan (who thus impiously presum'd to minister in this idolatrous service, and so very soon after the death of Joshua) the present Heb. text tells us --- *he was the son of Gershom, the son of Manasseh*: ch. 18, 30. But we know, that Gershom was the son of *Moses*; and there are strong reasons for believing, that the word here was at first מֹשֶׁה *Moses*, and not מְנַשֶּׁה *Manasseh*. For first Jerom has express'd it

G *Moses*;

Moses; and it is, at this day, *Moses* in the Vulgat. We read in the supplement to Walton's Polyglott, in page the 5th of the various readings collected by Lucas Brugensis &c. *Latinis codicibus* (qui legunt *Moyfi*) *exemplaria quædam GRÆCA suffragantur*. And farther; that the *Greek*, as well as the Latin, version formerly read *Moses*, we may (as Glasius observes) infer from Theodoret; who flourish'd (about 423) a few years after Jerom's death. This Greek writer gives the following as the words of the Greek version ---- Ιωναθαν υιος Μανασση, υιος Γηρσαμ, υιος Μωση αυτος και οι υιοι αυτου ησαν ιερεις τη φυλη Δαν, εως της μετοικεσιαις &c. 'Tis true; tho' he has preserv'd the word *Moses*, he has also (tho' out of place) preserv'd the word *Manasseh*: and from the existence of *both* words we may infer, that some copies read the latter word, and some the former; whilst others (that they might certainly have the right word) inserted both. But the true reading may be here easily determin'd, by the nature of the place, and from the honest confession of the Jews themselves.

For, struck with deep concern for the honour of their Lawgiver, and distress'd that a grandson of *Moses* should be the first priest of idolatry; they have ventur'd (it seems) upon
a pious

a pious fraud, placing over the word מֹשֶׁה the letter ך which might intimate it to be *Manasseh*. The fate of this superposititious letter has been very various: sometimes plac'd over the word; sometimes suspended halfway; and sometimes uniformly inserted. The consequence of which has been; that, as it was universally understood that the word was design'd (by those who added this letter) to be read *Manasseh*, *Manasseh* has now supplanted *Moses*; and the sacred text stands here wilfully corrupted. We are told indeed, that this relation to *Manasseh* was not *real* but *figurative*; meant of a similitude in idolatry, and not of natural consanguinity. But, that any man, who liv'd 800 years before *Manasseh*, should be call'd the descendant of *Manasseh*, because *Manasseh* acted *like him* 800 years afterwards, is absurd beyond expression. Besides: *who* is it, that is here call'd *the son of Manasseh*, because equally idolatrous? Is it the idolatrous priest himself? No; for the word *Manasseh* follows after *Gershom*: and so *Gershom*, tho' innocent, is now call'd the son of the idolatrous *Manasseh*; whilst the wicked priest, *Jonathan* himself, is only said to be the son of *Gershom*!

What a fruitful parent of absurdities has this one single letter prov'd! And yet 'tis a letter,

that *is* part of a word, and *is not* part of a word: in the greater number of copies, suspended between heaven and earth, as ominous; in other copies, magnified to double the common size, as monstrous: and yet in some copies (written as well as printed) endeavouring to conceal its own criminal intrusion, by shrinking to the common size, and wearing the exact garb of *the genuine letters*, with which it presumes to associate. And all this; even tho' some of the honefter Rabbies have assur'd us, that the *Nun* had no right to a place in that word; *having been added by their fathers, to take away this great reproach from the name and family of Moses.* The following are the words of R. Solomon Jarchi, who liv'd about 650 years ago --- מִפְּנֵי כְבוֹדוֹ שֶׁל מֹשֶׁה כָּתַב נּוּן לְשֹׁנוֹת אֶת הַשֵּׁם וּנְכַתְּבָה תְּלוּיָהּ לִזְמַר שֶׁלֹּא הָיָה מִנְּשָׁה אֶלֶּא מֹשֶׁה: *Propter honorem Moſis ſcripta fuit (litera) Nun, ut nomen mutaretur; & quidem ſcripta fuit ſuſpenſa, ad indicandum, quod non fuerit Menaffes, ſed Moſes. Vid. Talmud. Bava batbra, fol. 109, b.*

Here then, we have the Jews convicted of wilful corruption, upon the moſt unexceptionable of all evidences --- THEIR OWN CONFESSION. And how any Chriſtian can rationally defend this word, as uncorrupted, I do not ſee.

That

That *Manasseh*, in this text, should mean the then future king of Judah, is most absurd to imagine. That it should mean *Manasseh* the son of Joseph, is impossible; because *that Manasseh* had no son call'd *Gershom*. But that *Gershom* was the son of *Moses*, is certain from many texts of Scripture. And lastly; the time of this first apostacy to idolatry farther confirms the present argument. 'Tis allow'd by the learned, that the events, recorded in the five last chapters of *Judges*, happen'd soon after the death of *Joshua*; and (in order of time) are prior to the former chapters, which relate the oppressions and deliverances of the Israelites. And, as this idolatrous establishment in Dan was soon after *Joshua's* death; *that* will be perfectly coincident with the life of *Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses*. For *Joshua*, being in the vigour of life at the death of *Moses*, must be contemporary with *Gershom* the son of *Moses*; and would, at his death, leave *Jonathan, the son of Gershom*, in the vigour of life; or at least capable, in point of age, of being an idolatrous priest at such a time, as the sacred history here *most impartially* represents him.

The very learned *John David Michaelis* has judiciously given his opinion, against the legitimacy

timacy of this word *Manasseh*. For in the 3d volume of the Gottingen Commentaries (4to 1753) this Writer has a curious treatise, *De pretiis rerum apud Hebræos ante exilium Babylonicum*: where, upon the words, *Jonathan Mosi ex Gershone nepos*, he has the following note, p. 180. *In bibliis Heb. ære typographico descriptis Manassis nepos dicitur: suspensa tamen, ac si suspecta esset, supra reliquas litera Nun; qua una Manassis a Mosi nomine differt. Ex majorum traditione narrat Abendana, Nun illud in honorem Mosi adjectum, ne ejus nepos primus fuisse videretur sacrificulus idoli: Mosi etiam nomen in vulgata Latina legitur. Mibi exploratum videtur, non Manassem intelligendum sed Mosem: quæ enim Levita Manassem progenitorem habere potuisset?* But then, as this worthy Author allows in this volume, that the word was originally *Moses*, and that *Manasseh* is printed *falsely* in the Heb. text (it may be added --- and *falsely* express'd also in the Heb. MSS) and as he here allows, that *the Jews wilfully alter'd their text*, out of regard to the honour of *Moses* -- it is evident, that he has been *very lately* convinc'd of the Jews having WILFULLY CORRUPTED their text, at least in one instance; after having advanc'd the contrary opinion, in the volume preceding.

For

For there, in a curious treatise *De Siclo ante exilium Babylonicum*, at p. 81, his words are --- *Nulla certo exemplo probari huc usque potuit, Judæos vel unicum sui codicis locum consilio corrupisse*. This change of sentiment is not mention'd here by way of reflection; but as a certain proof of *fairness* in so eminent a Writer, ingenuously open to conviction. And I remark this the more readily, in hopes of sheltring myself under so considerable an authority; if I should be charg'd hereafter (as I very justly may) with having alter'd my opinion also, on this same point, since the publication of my Dissertation on the Heb. Text. See pag. 275.

It should not be forgot, that St. Jerom (commenting on the celebrated prophecy in *Mic. 5, 2*) takes notice of the eleven cities, which are mention'd in the version of the LXX, but not in the present Heb. text, at *Josh. 15, 60* --- *Θεκω, και Εφραθα (αυτη εστι Βηθλεεμ) και Φαγωρ, και Αιπαμ, και Κελλον, και Ταλαμι, και Σωρης, και Καρεμ, και Γαλλιμ, και Βαιθερ, και Μανοχωρ* *πολεις ενδεκα, και αι κωμαι αυων*. These cities, he thinks, *may have been* omitted by the ancient Jews, out of malice to Christianity; because *Bethlehem - Ephratah* (the place of Christ's nativity) is one of these cities, and is describ'd as in the tribe of *Judab*. Dr. Wall, in his
critical

critical notes, says --- *these cities were doubtless in the Heb. copy of the LXX.* And indeed they are of such a nature, that 'tis scarce possible to think them an interpolation. 'Tis true: this critic supposes the omission to have been occasion'd by the same word *וְחִצְרֵיהֶן* (*and their villages*) occurring immediately before and at the end of the words thus omitted: and indeed the same word occurring in different places has been the cause of many and great omissions in the Heb. MSS. He thinks it the less likely, that the Jews should *designedly* omit Bethlehem here; because that place is mention'd, as belonging to Judah, in several other parts of Scripture. But then; tho' *Bethlehem* is elsewhere mention'd as belonging to Judah, yet (I believe) *Bethlehem-Ephratah* is no where mention'd, in that manner, excepting *here* and in the prophecy of *Micah* before referr'd to. And therefore, tho' this remarkable omission was probably owing at first to some transcriber's mistake; its not being re-inserted might be owing to the reason specified by St. Jerom.

It may be noted, at the conclusion of this article --- that Dean Prideaux also thought it possible for *the Jews* to be guilty of (what he calls) *a plain corrupting of the text*: and he expressly charges them with wilfully corrupting the

the Greek version of *Isaiah* 19, 18. See *his Connection*; par. 2, b. 4. And now, from these instances of wilful Corruption thus charg'd upon *the Jews*, let us return; and proceed in the farther consideration of THE TEXT principally controverted between *them* and *the Samaritans*: taking with us those other arguments which offer, and will prove still more convincing, against the former and in favour of the latter.

VIII. Should the hatred of the Samaritans be here objected, as what might urge *them* to commit any crime out of opposition to the Jews; certainly the hatred of the Jews is at least equally notorious: and Reland says (*Dissert.* 2, 1) *Judæis, juratis Samaritanorum hostibus vix fides habenda.* Agreeable to this is the remark of Vossius --- *Quanto odio Judæi codicem Samaritanum olim persecuti sint, ac etiamnum persequantur, neminem latere potest eorum, qui legunt mendacia & calumnias, quibus Samaritas eorumque scripturam omnibus seculis obruere sint conati.* De LXX, cap. 29. Scaliger observes, in his famous book *De emend. temp.* p. 662 --- *Judæi de Samaritis multa impudentissime mentiuntur; ut sciunt, qui Talmud & commentarios Rabbinicos legerunt.* And we read also in Lightfoot (vol. i. p. 598) -- *As the Samaritans*
H were

were bitter to the Jews, so the Jews (to their power) were not behind hand with the Samaritans. For (if we may believe their own authors) Ezra, Zorobabel and Jeshua, gather'd all the congregation into the temple; and they blew the trumpets; and the Levites sung, and curs'd the Samaritans by the secret name of God, and by the glorious writing of the tables, and by the curse of the upper and lower house of judgment: that no Israelite eat of any thing, that is a Samaritan's; nor that any Samaritan be proselyted to Israel, nor have any part in the Resurrection. And they sent this curse to all Israel in Babel, and added thereto curse upon curse; and the king fix'd a curse everlasting to them, as it is said, *And God destroy all kings and people, that shall put their hands to alter it.* Hæc R. Tanchum. *

We find, in *Ezra* 4, 1 &c; that, upon the Jews returning from their captivity, the Samaritans civilly offer'd to unite with them; saying --- *let us build the temple with you, for we seek your God* &c: which kind and religious proposal was roughly rejected. Above 200 years after, we may observe, that the hatred of the Jews continued: for thus writes the author of *Ecclus.* (50; 25, 26) *There be two nations,*

* See also Walton's Polyglott, *Prolegom.* 11, 4.

which

which my heart abhorreth; and the third is no nation: They that sit upon the mountain of Samaria; and they that dwell amongst the Philistines; and that foolish people, that dwell in SICHEM --- pointing out the very mount of Gerizim. 'Tis farther observable, that the phrase in our Saviour's time was (not --- the Samaritans have no dealings with the Jews --- but) *the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans.* * And lastly; what could shew greater virulence, than for the Jews, when they saw our Saviour's many mighty and beneficent miracles, and yet charg'd him with having a devil, spitefully to call him a Samaritan --- *Say we not well, that thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil?* John 8, 43. From all which it is most abundantly manifest, that the Jews cannot be acquitted of the preceding charge, *merely*, for their not hating the Samaritans.

IX. Let us now consider the testimony of JOSEPHUS, that eminent historian and Jewish priest; whom Reland calls *hostem Samaritanorum infensissimum*: Dissert. 2, 7. And I shall only premise; that, if the ancient Heb. MSS did, in the days of Josephus, truly read EBAL

* Ου γὰρ ἐπὶ, ὅτι Σαμαριτῶν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἔστωσαν. Chrysostom. in locum.

in the text of *Deut.* 27, 4; we shall doubtless find this author most positive and most express, that *the Altar was to be, and was, built upon Ebal.*

Speaking of the command of God, by Moses, upon this head (*lib.* 4. *cap.* 8. *sec.* 44) he says --- *Aram extruere jussit, ad solem orientem versam, non procul ab urbe Sicimorum, INTER MONTES DUOS, (μᾶλ' ὅσον δύο ὄρειν) Garizæo ad dextram posito, ad lævam autem Gibalo.* Here then he asserts, that the Altar, tho' not to be upon Gerizim, was *not to be upon Ebal*, but between both; and rather nearer to Gerizim, as being *not far from Sichem* at the foot of Gerizim. But can it possibly be suppos'd, that this acute and learned advocate for the Jews (after so much sharp contention with the Samaritans) would so expressly have given up the honour of *Ebal*, if he could fairly have supported it? If the old Heb. MSS did read *Ebal*; it can scarce be conceiv'd, that such a writer would not have fix'd this Altar upon *Ebal* with the greatest degree of accuracy: unless the Reader will please to suppose, that Josephus had just then *forgot* the controversy. But even this reply is prevented; and 'tis clear, he had it full in view, when he adds but a few lines after --- *ubi populo denunciatur, ut holocausta offerat;*

ferat; & post illam diem nunquam aliam victimam ei imponeret; non enim esse licitum: a prohibition unauthoriz'd by holy Scripture, and therefore manifestly the result of Jewish hatred.

Having taken this view of the *command*, let us now see how he states the *fact*; and whether he informs us clearly, that *Joshua did build the altar upon Ebal*. It seems necessary here to give the words from the Greek text; *lib. 5, 1, 19.* Καὶ χωρησὺς ἐντὸς ἐν ἐπὶ Σικιμῶν συν ἅπαντι τῷ λαῷ, βῶμον τε ἱησὶν ὅπῃ πῶρετε Μωϋσῆς· καὶ νεύμας τὴν ἐραλίαν, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Γαριζεὶ ὅρει τὴν ἡμισίαν ἱησὶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Γιβαλῶ τὴν ἡμισίαν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁ βῶμος ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸ Λῶιτικὸν καὶ τὰς ἱερεῖας. Let us now consider this passage. *Atque inde cum omni populo Sicima profectus, & altare statuit ubi Moyses præceperat* --- Could this author have avoided mentioning *Ebal* HERE; if he knew *that* to have been the place? It will be answer'd, that *Ebal* is mention'd afterwards. True; but the mention made of it afterwards is in so odd a manner, and the sentence is so confus'd by means of the words ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁ βῶμος ἐστὶ (even tho' they should be plac'd in a parenthesis) that it may be submitted to the Learned, *whether those words are not an interpolation*. For, having before told us, that the Altar was erected
upon

upon its proper spot, at the very place where Moses had commanded; could he thrust in the mention of it again afterwards; and in a part of the sentence, where the insertion is not natural, and perplexes the sense? Had he originally said, that the Altar was erected upon Ebal, the words would probably have stood thus ---- βωμον τε ιησιν επι τῷ Γιβαλω ορει, καθως παρειπε Μωυσης. But at present, there seems great reason to suspect an interpolation. Let us review the whole sentence. *Atque inde cum omni populo Sicima profectus, & altare statuit ubi Moyses præceperat; & dein exercitu diviso, in monte quidem Garizi dimidium ejus constituit, in Gibalo verò dimidium (in quo & altare est) & Levitas & Sacerdotes.*

The conjecture here offer'd may be strengthen'd by observing, that the translators have been much puzzled, and forc'd to change the position of the words, to improve the sense; placing *dimidium* before *in Gibalo*, instead of *in Gibalo* before *dimidium*. And had the words, objected to, been original; I presume, they would have stood thus --- επι μεν τῷ Γαριζει ορει την ημισειαν ιησιν, την δε ημισειαν επι τῷ Γιβαλω, εν ᾧ και ο βωμος εστι &c. Epiphanius (says Havercamp) seems to have explain'd this passage by the former book, or to have read differently;
since

since in his version he renders ο βωμος εση, as if it were τὸν βωμον εση, and also inserts another verb afterwards. He therefore was not satisfied with the above reading: but then his two verbs, in the *past* tense, do not agree with the verb εση twice in the *present* tense, just before. Two Latin MSS read here agreeably to Epiphanius, but with some variations. One, in the library of Merton College, reads --- *in monte garizim constituit medium & in bael, in in quo & altare ædificavit nec non & levitas sacerdotesque divisit*. The other, in Exeter Coll. library, reads --- *in monte garizi constituit medium & in babel medium, in quo & altare ædificavit nec non & levitas sacerdotesque divisit*.

Should it be still insisted, that the words, objected to, have not been thrust in awkwardly by some later Jewish zealot, but must have been the words of Josephus; then I answer, that HE FLATLY CONTRADICTS HIMSELF: which can scarce be suppos'd of *such a writer*, upon a point *so very interesting and entirely national*. For, in the former passage he affirms, that *the Altar WAS NOT built upon Ebal*, but near Gerizim; and yet (in such a case) he must be allow'd to affirm here, that *the Altar WAS built upon Ebal*. And if he be further understood to assert, that *the Levites and priests*
stood

stood upon Ebal; this will be soon confuted. But, to speak the truth; this discerning Jew seems convinc'd, --- that *the Altar was to be, and was, erected on GERIZIM*; and therefore, tho' he *could not* give the honour to Ebal, he *would not* confirm it to Gerizim: which yet will be inferr'd by most of his readers from his saying so cautiously --- that *Joshua erected it WHERE Moses commanded it*.

There remains one remark to be made on that passage (in the 4th book) where Josephus speaks of the command given by Moses; which is farther favourable to mount Gerizim. Had Josephus said, that *Ebal* was to be the place, from whence they were to declare the curse of GOD against all such as should neglect GOD's *worship*, and forget *his commands*; this would have been urg'd as a clear allusion to *the Altar* and *the Law*, as being upon *Ebal*. It must be then equally fair to infer, that he alludes to *the Altar* and *the Law*, as being upon *Gerizim*; since, expressly speaking of *Gerizim*, he mentions *the worship of GOD* and *keeping his laws* --- Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὰς ἐπὶ τῷ Γαριζὶν γενομένους εὐχεδῶς τε καλλίστα τοῖς περὶ τὴν θρησκείαν τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ τὴν τῶν νομῶν φυλάκην, σπαραζουσιν.

There is another famous passage of Josephus, which has been frequently quoted upon
this

this subject; but it is really surprizing, that learned men should so frequently have referr'd to it, as decisive against the Samaritans. It is the account given (13, 3, 4) of the sentence of Ptolemy, in favour of the temple at Jerusalem against the temple on Gerizim. But note here; that, if the preference was ever so justly then given to the former, that preference would by no means recover for *Ebal* the honour of the Altar, which had been long claim'd by *Gerizim*. For the dispute was not then directly concerning these two mountains; the Jews seeming rather to concede the Altar to *Gerizim*, not once denying *that*; and the dispute only opposing the holiness of *Jerusalem* to the holiness of *Gerizim*. But indeed the account of this royal arbitration, as given by Josephus himself (notwithstanding Hottinger calls him *testem πολλων ανταξιον αλλων*) is much more likely to serve, than to prejudice, the cause of the Samaritans: and, to enable the Reader to determine the more readily, the following extract is made from that remarkable piece of history.

“After the building of the Jewish temple
 “in Egypt by Onias, a seditious tumult arose
 “in that country between the Jews and the
 “Samaritans: the former contending, that *their*
 I “temple

“ temple at Jerufalem was authoriz’d by the
 “ Laws of Moses; and the same being insisted
 “ on, as to *their* temple, by the latter. Both
 “ parties appeal’d to Ptolemy, requesting a pub-
 “ lic hearing; and agreeing, that the advo-
 “ cates, defeated, should suffer death. Both
 “ parties swore, they would produce their proofs
 “ according to the Law; and implor’d Ptole-
 “ my’s vengeance on that person, who should
 “ violate this oath. The Jews (says this their
 “ own historian) were in great pain for their
 “ advocates (*οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι σφόδρα αγωνισαν περὶ τῶν*
 “ *ανδρῶν, οἷς ἀγανακτεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὺμοις ἱεροῦ*
 “ *συνέβαινε.*) The Samaritans freely permitting
 “ the Jewish cause to be heard first, Androni-
 “ cus began his proofs from the Law and the
 “ succession of the high priests; setting forth
 “ how each, receiving the honour from his fa-
 “ ther, presided over the temple; and that all
 “ the kings of Asia had honour’d the holy place
 “ of the Jews with magnificent presents: where-
 “ as no one had respected the temple at Geri-
 “ zim, any more than if it had never been. * By

* A testimony very contrary to this, and also from a Jewish
 Historian (tho’ by no means of equal authority) we have from
Josephus Ben Gorion, in the following words — רבִּים מִפְּרִיעַ
 עָמְנוּ הָיוּ הוֹלְכִים אֶל הָרִי גֵרִיזִים מִדֵּי שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה לַחֹג אֶת הַנֶּחֱם
 בְּמַעֲשֵׂרֹתֶיהָ וּבְנִדְבוּתֶיהָ וּבְשִׁלְמֶיהָ וְהָמָּה עֹזְבֵי אֶת מִקְדָּשׁ יְיָ
 אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֲשֶׁר בִּירוּשָׁלַם וַיִּתְּעֶשֶׂר הַמִּקְדָּשׁ הַהוּא מְאֹד וַיַּעֲמֹד יָמָם
 רַבִּים

“which, and several other similar proofs, the
 “king was persuaded to decree --- That build-
 “ing the temple at *Jerusalem* was authoriz’d
 “by the Law of Moses; and that the Samari-
 “tans [who came to plead for *their* temple]
 “should be put to death.”

But ----- was there ever a decree more un-
 righteous, than thus solemnly to sentence men
 to death, *unheard*? For it does not appear,
 that the Samaritan advocates were allow’d to
 plead at all! And, after all; where is the force
 of the Jewish evidences? Both parties had
 sworn to confine themselves to the Mosaic Law;
 but the Jews did not: and if they had, *Where*
 (in all the Pentateuch) is there the least au-
 thority for building a temple at Jerusalem? ---
 Certainly, most Readers will infer therefore
 from this story, as told by this ancient Jewish
 priest, that the Samaritans had a very unfair
 judge in Ptolemy. And they will infer also (a
 matter of great consequence to the point here
 in view) that *the Samaritans did not corrupt*

רבים עד מלך הורקנוס בן שמעון מבני חשמונאי והרסוהו:
Multi ex populo nostro (improbi) ad montem Garizim quotannis
decimas suas & spontaneas oblationes ac pacifica sua diebus festis
detulerunt, relicto sanctuario Domini Dei nostri quod Hierosolymis
fuit: templum autem istud evasit OPULENTISSIMUM; ac diu
stetit, usque ad regnum Hyrcani, Simeonis filii, Hasmonæi, qui
illud tandem destruxit. Edit. Breithaupt. 1. 2. c. 8.

the text in question; because the Jews did not, at that time, attempt to convict them of it. A proof of this corruption would, at that time, have been fairly decisive. For, as the temple at Gerizim claim'd only, in virtue of its former Altar; prove that Altar to have belong'd to Ebal, and Gerizim is at once stripp'd of its borrow'd honours, and the Samaritans of course convicted. And let us by no means forget; how easily such a corruption, if made by the Samaritans, might have been then prov'd by the Jews.

Suppose it made immediately after the Gerizim-temple was built, about 400 years before Christ; and that this contest happen'd about 150 years before Christ. Certainly the Jews had THEN MSS more than 250 years old; probably some, wrote hundreds of years before the building that temple, and therefore very long before the suppos'd corruption. And had *only* ONE old Heb. MSS (I say, had *only* ONE) been produc'd, fairly reading עִבָּל (*Ebal*) in the text in question; the Samaritans had been convicted righteously. But, no such authorities were produc'd --- *not one* such authority was even pretended --- the Jew just mention'd the Law, and talk'd a great deal of (what was nothing to the purpose) the succession of their priests

priests and the glory of their temple --- whilst the poor Samaritans were not so much as heard, but cruelly put to death --- and *THUS was victory decreed by Ptolemy to the Jews!* At least; so says Josephus. But, note here; that, as the Samaritans tell this story, *Ptolemy decreed the victory to THEM.** In short: from the whole of the matter, as related by Josephus, thus much is clear; either that the merits of the cause, as founded upon the Law of Moses, were not gone into at all; or else, that they turn'd out so unfavourable to the Jews, that this (their own) historian has thought proper to suppress the particular mention of them: whereas, had they been favourable, they must have furnish'd him with matter of *the greatest triumph.*

I shall add but one remark: that as Josephus does not charge (nor mention his brother Jews as charging) the Samaritans with corrupting the text in question; so neither did *other* ancient Jews. For they record the following very remarkable words of R. Eliezer Ben Jose --- *I have said to you, O Samaritans, ye have falsified your law: for ye say (Deut. 11, 30) מורה שכם the plain of Moreh, which is Sichem* [they add *Sichem* of their own ac-

* See Act. Erudit. Lips. 1691, pag. 169.

cord]

cord] *we ourselves indeed confess, that the plain of Moreh is Sichem.* Lightfoot, who mentions these words (*vol. 2, 505*) expresses great surprise at this Jew's accusing the Samaritans of so slight a matter; and at his *not at all mentioning* that far greater subornation, as to mount Gerizim.

X. Let us now, in the last place, carefully consider the testimony of holy Scripture. It has been already observ'd; that the evidences, arising from the text itself, in *Deut. 27, 4*, are equal: but there is another express text, which must be here consider'd; as well as some others, which have a near relation to it. If then *the original command* be, in this case, become indeterminate; let us see, how *the fact itself* is related: tho' from the text of *Joshua* also, as it now stands, the Samaritans have very little to hope for. The English version informs us, from the present Heb. text of *Josh. 8, 30*; that *Joshua built the altar in mount Ebal.* But here also we must note, that the Samar. Chronicon (which begins with the history of Joshua in 39 chapters) affirms, that *Joshua built this altar on mount Gerizim.* * Wherefore, as the

* See Acta Erud. Lips. 1691, pag. 167: and also Reland's Dissert. on the Samaritans and their Chronicon; sect. 27, 33.
This

authorities of these two parties are again contradictory; we must now attend to the circumstances of the sacred history: and these seem to be decisive.

A day of great solemnity is appointed --- the twelve tribes are station'd, and every circumstance is perform'd, agreeably to the divine commands --- six tribes therefore are station'd upon Gerizim, and six upon Ebal; probably *the princes* (the representatives of each tribe) upon the top, or on the side; and the common people (regulated by their captains and other officers) extended over the plain, from the foot of each mountain: and in the valley, between the two mountains, is the Ark of God; attended by a select number of the Levites --- the tribes being properly station'd, *an Altar* is built (either on Gerizim or Ebal) and upon this Altar are offer'd *burnt-offerings* and *peace-*

This *Chronicon* of the Samaritans (in the Samar. character, but the Arabic language) has not yet been publish'd. It is allow'd to be (in comparison of their Pentateuch) a late work and of little authority: and it is here referr'd to, because the Samaritans have no other history, which mentions this transaction of Joshua. Reland thinks this *Chronicon* to have been finish'd in the 3d century; and says of the copy of it, which was sent to Scaliger by the Samaritans --- *est versio Arabica (post Corani conscriptionem facta) antiqui codicis, qui lingua Hebræa conscriptus erat, at qui nunc periit.* Dissert. de Samaritanis, sect. 5, 6.

offer-

offerings; the former, to atone for their sins; and the latter, to express their gratitude for their present peace, and their supplication for its continuance --- the sacrifices being offer'd, a copy of *the Law* is engrav'd upon stones, plac'd upon one of the two mountains --- and the Law, thus engrav'd, being read; *blessings* are then pronounc'd from mount Gerizim, and *curfings* from mount Ebal.

Now where can we suppose JOSHUA, the Captain-General, to have been station'd, during this solemn transaction? Shall we suppose *Him* to have stood, on the beautiful mountain of *Blessings*, or upon that of *Curfings*; on the mountain honour'd with *the Altar* and *the Law*, or the contrary? --- Joshua was of the tribe of Ephraim; Ephraim was the son of Joseph; and the descendants of Joseph were certainly station'd upon *Gerizim*. 'Tis therefore highly probable; that upon *Gerizim*, where Joshua was station'd, THERE were in fact *the Altar* and *the Law*. And as Joshua was upon Gerizim; no doubt, He was the person, who read the Law, and proclaim'd the Blessings from Gerizim: whilst some prince, out of the six tribes upon Ebal, might, by Joshua's command, pronounce the Curfings from Ebal.

And

And now, as to the true place of *the Altar* and *the Law*; if we advance one step farther, we shall seem to arrive at demonstration. If *the Altar* was upon *Ebal*; doubtless *the sacrifices* were offer'd upon *Ebal*: but, who then were the *Sacrificers*? Did *Reuben*, or *Gad*, or *Asher*, did *Zebulun*, or *Dan*, or *Naphtali*, impiously furnish out men for *Priests*, on this very solemn occasion? Most certainly, Not. And yet, these were the six tribes expressly station'd upon *Ebal*. Let us now see, what tribes were expressly station'd upon *Gerizim* --- *JUDAH*, the tribe of *the Messiah*; *LEVI*, the tribe of the *Priests*, *the only men who were to minister before GOD in sacrifice*; *JOSEPH*, the tribe of their warlike and religious leader *Joshua*; with *Simeon*, *Issachar*, and *Benjamin*.

And shall we then refuse to allow, that *the Altar* and *the Law* were plac'd on the mount of *Blessings* --- on the same mount with *Joshua*, the heroic leader of the people --- on the same mount with their glory, the tribe of *Judah* --- and on the same mount with *the tribe of LEVI*, who were *the proper, the divinely-appointed, the only, Ministers at that very Altar*? ----- Will there be the least presumption, in supposing the Reader to be now persuaded, that this corruption has been hitherto charg'd upon the

innocent instead of the guilty? Certainly; if there be not here *demonstration*, there is at least *strong probability* --- that GERIZIM, thus confess'd to have been the mount of BLESSINGS and the station of the tribe of LEVI, was *the mount*, which was to be, and was, honour'd with *the Altar* and *the Law*. And if the Reader be convinc'd, that THE SAMARITANS HAVE NOT corrupted their Pentateuch, in this celebrated article; he must be convinc'd, that THE JEWS HAVE corrupted it: and corrupted, not only *this text in their Pentateuch*, but also *the corresponding text in Joshua*.

It may not be improper to conclude these remarks with those sentences of holy Scripture, which most particularly relate to this subject. We read in Deut. 11, 26. *Behold, I set before you a blessing and a curse: 27. A blessing, if ye obey the commandments of the Lord --- which I command you this day: 28. And a curse, if ye will not obey -- but turn aside out of the way which I command you this day, to go after other gods which ye have not known. 29. And -- when the Lord hath brought thee in unto the land -- thou shalt put the blessing upon mount Gerizim, and the curse upon mount Ebal.*

We

We read also, in *Deut.* 27, 2 -- *When you shall pass over Jordan -- thou shalt set thee up great stones, and plaister them with plaister.**

* This *plaister* has generally been understood, as meant to be laid over the stones, to give them smooth surfaces; that so the Law might be inscrib'd upon that plaister. But the very next words shew, that the words were not to be inscrib'd upon *it* i. e. *the plaister*; but upon *them* i. e. *the stones*. Besides: if *duration* was not intended; the original Tables were present, and might have been us'd for a single recital of the Commandments on this extraordinary occasion. And if *duration* was intended; covering the surfaces of the stones with plaister (notwithstanding what has been said of the tenacity of the *ancient* plaister) seems a method very unlikely to perpetuate the inscription: especially as the words are suppos'd to be inscrib'd, as soon as the plaister was laid on. The learned F. Houbigant thinks, that the words do not mean plaister for the surfaces, but *cement for the sides* of these stones; by which they were to be join'd firmly together — *cementum, quo lapides monumenti, unus ad unum, firme cohererent*. But, perhaps, the truth of the case is this. The letters on these stones were not to be sunk or hollow'd out, but rais'd *in relief*, and the stone cut from around the letters. The plaister would be then of excellent use to fill up the interstices of the letters: and if *the plaister was white* between *the letters of black marble*; the words would appear (according to the command, at ver. 8) *very plainly* — or, as in Coverdale's version (1535) *manifestly and well*. This hypothesis, of the letters being rais'd, may be strengthen'd by observing, that the *Arabic* inscriptions (perhaps all that are now extant) are *in relief*. The *two Arabic Marbles*, preserv'd in the University of Oxford, are proofs of this method of engraving; which therefore *might* obtain formerly amongst the other Oriental nations. Selden, in his account of the Oxford Marbles, mentions 4, number'd 191, 192, 193, 194; which have on them *Hebrew* characters, and were anciently parts of some sepulchral monuments of the Jews. But, not knowing

3. *And thou shalt write upon them all the words of this law --* 4. *Ye shall set up these stones in mount (Ebal) --* 5. *And there shalt thou build an altar --* 8. *And thou shalt write upon the stones all the words of this law, very plainly.* 9. *And Moses said, Take heed, and hearken, O Israel; this day thou art become the people of the Lord --* 10. *Thou shalt therefore obey his voice -- and do his commandments and his statutes, which I command thee this day.* 11. *And Moses said,* 12. *These shall stand upon Gerizim, to bless the people ---- Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Joseph, and Benjamin.* 13. *And these shall stand upon Ebal, to curse; Reuben, Gad, Asher, Zebulun, Dan, and Naphtali.* 14. *And the Levites shall (not speak but) answer, and say unto all Israel with a loud voice,* 15. *Cursed be the man &c.* And then, the twelve curses being pronounc'd, to which the people were to say, *Amen*; it follows --- Deut. 28, 1. *And it shall come to pass, if thou hearken to the voice of the Lord, to do all his commandments, which I command thee this day; the Lord will set thee on high above all nations --* 2. *And all these BLESSINGS shall come on thee --* 3. *Blessed shalt thou be in the city; and blessed*

ing where these fragments are; I cannot say, whether the letters upon them are in relieve, or the contrary.

shalt

shalt thou be in the field. &c. 15. But, if thou hearken not unto the Lord, to do all his commandments and his statutes, which I command thee this day; all these CURSES shall come upon thee -- 16. Cursed shalt thou be in the city; and cursed shalt thou be in the field. &c. Here follow the several other forms of cursing; and these are all concluded with this remark (which therefore should conclude this 28th chapter ')
These are the words of the covenant, which the Lord commanded Moses to make with the children of Israel in the land of Moab, besides the covenant which he made with them in Horeb.

Having thus seen the words, which contain the command of Moses; let us now attend to the words, which describe the execution of it by Joshua: after which may properly follow some observations upon the whole. *Josh. 8, 30. Then Joshua built an altar unto the Lord, in mount (Ebal) 31. As Moses commanded --- as it is written -- an altar of whole stones, over which no man hath lift up any iron: ² and they offered*

¹ This verse concludes the 28th chapter, in the celebrated Editions, printed by Michaelis and Houbigant.

² The learned Spencer laments, that the word ברזל is here (in our Eng. Bible) translated *iron*, and not *iron-tool*; as the same word is properly translated in Deut. 27, 5. *De Leg. Heb.* lib. 1, c. 2, sect. 1. But Spencer's complaint would have been prevented, if our later Eng. versions had not varied from those

burnt-offerings, and sacrificed peace-offerings. 32. And he wrote there upon the stones a copy of the law of Moses, which he wrote in the presence of the children of Israel. 33. And all Israel, and their elders, and officers, and their judges, stood on this side of the ark, and on that side, before the priests the Levites, which bare the ark -- as well the stranger, as he that was born among them; half of them over against mount Gerizim, and half of them over against mount Ebal: as Moses had commanded before, that they should bless the people of Israel. 34. And afterward he read all the words of the law, the blessings and cursings, according to all that is written in the book of the law. 35. There was not a word of all that Moses commanded, which Joshua read not before all the congregation of Israel, with the women, and the little ones, and the strangers that were conversant among them.

Let us now look back; and remark first the *exact station*, allotted to the several parts of this multitude of people, on so extraordinary an oc-

more ancient. For in the Editions of 1537 and 1539, we read here — *an altare of roughe stone, over whyche no toole of yeron was liste* — And we read also — *tole of yron*, in the editions of 1541 and 1549.

caſion.

caſion. *Gerizim and Ebal* (ſays Maundrell, p. 59 and 62) *are ſeparated by a narrow valley, not above a furlong broad; and Naploſa (the ancient Sychem) conſiſting chiefly of two ſtreets lying parallel, is built at the foot of, and under, mount Gerizim.* Now, upon Gerizim were ſtation'd the princes and chief men, as representatives of fix of the tribes, of which *Levi* was one; and on Ebal were ſtation'd the other fix tribes, as represented alſo by their chief men and princes. Extended upon the plain, *over-againſt, or from the foot of, Gerizim,* towards the Eaſt, were the common people of fix tribes, regulated by their ſeveral officers; in the ſame manner as the people of the other fix tribes were extended, towards the Eaſt, *over-againſt, or from the foot of, Ebal.* In the valley was the Ark of GOD, attended by a ſelect number of the Levites: and theſe could only be a part, not the whole of the Levites, becauſe *Levi* was one of thoſe tribes which were expreſſy ſtation'd upon Gerizim --- i. e. the princes *upon* the mountain, and the body of that tribe at *the foot* of that ſame mountain, as ſtation'd with its five concomitant tribes. It muſt be noted farther; that, as the tribe of *Levi* was thus *commanded* to ſtand upon *Gerizim*, it was of courſe *forbid* to ſtand upon

upon *Ebal*. And therefore, if the twelve tribes were station'd, in exact conformity to this divine appointment (as doubtless they were) we must conclude, that *no part of the tribe of Levi was station'd upon Ebal*.

But it may be ask'd, Were not the curses to be pronounc'd from *Ebal*; and did not the Levites pronounce the curses? To which I answer affirmatively, as to the former: and the latter is to be affirm'd also, as to *those curses*, which the Levites in the valley, near the Ark, were order'd to *repeat*. Those particular curses, to which the people were to say *Amen*, were to be first pronounc'd from *Ebal*, and then REPEATED by the Levites in the valley. For the 14th verse (*Deut. 27*) should be render'd in our English version, agreeably to the Heb. word ויענו, and agreeably to all the ancient versions --- *And the Levites shall ANSWER, and say unto all the men of Israel, with a loud voice.* 'Tis remarkable, that this (*shall answer*) is the very rendring in many of our old English Bibles (see the editions of 1540, 1541, 1549, 1570, 1572, 1578, 1583, 1599, 1602, 1607, and 1610) and that our last translators, in this as in several other instances, alter'd for the worse, in their edition publish'd in 1613.

The

The next point to be consider'd is --- What *that Law* was, which Joshua engrav'd upon stones, in obedience to the command of Moses. Various have been the conjectures of different writers. Some, taking *the Law* in its common acceptation, have suppos'd it to be *the whole Pentateuch*. But the supposition of an engraving of that kind is too absurd to need confutation. Others have suppos'd it to mean the book of *Deuteronomy*; that second law, or repetition of the laws before given. But this opinion also needs only to be mention'd. Others therefore have suppos'd *the Law* here spoke of to be *the very blessings and cursings* pronounc'd upon this occasion. This opinion is far more probable than either of the preceding, and is indeed generally receiv'd; but yet, this also seems liable to great objections.

That we may judge of this matter the more clearly, let us consider *what were the blessings and cursings* to be then proclaim'd. Now concerning these the general opinion of both Jews and Christians has been ---- that, as twelve curses * are express'd in the twelve verses of

* Where the sentence will admit of the distinction, it seems proper to express by *a curse* the denunciation of vengeance against a particular crime; as in *Deut. 27*: and *a cursing* may denote a general denunciation of vengeance for disobedience to the laws of GOD; as in *Deut. 28*.

Deut. 27; the blessings were THE REVERSE of these curses. But, if we consider the matter with attention; can we conclude, that the Israelites were to be pronounc'd (and to be) *blest*, merely for not committing some one horrid crime? After justly pronouncing, *Cursed be the idolater*; and *Cursed be he, that lieth with any manner of beast*; could they be commanded to say, *Blest is he, that is not an idolater*; and *Blest is he, that is not guilty of bestiality*? These, and other crimes there specified, are so atrocious, that one cannot easily conceive any man likely to be thus call'd *blest*, barely for not committing them. Besides: as it was possible, that a man might commit one, and not another, of the crimes here specified; he would be then pronounc'd *blest*, for not committing one, and *cursed* for committing another i. e. he would be pronounc'd *blest and cursed* at the same time. It must be remark'd farther; that a curse denounc'd is not properly *law*, or *the law*, but only *the sanction of law*: and therefore these penalties are *the sanctions* arising from the curses of GOD against the violaters of laws given before (either expressly or by implication) which sanctions the Israelites themselves were in *these twelve cases* to allow to be most just and righteous.

If we examine these twelve curses, they will appear to contain a strong enforcement of THE TEN COMMANDMENTS; and 'tis highly probable, that they were here proclaim'd principally to secure obedience to THEM: as will be made more clear by the following table.

Deut. 27, 15. Cursed be the man, that maketh any graven or molten image, an abomination unto the Lord: &c. - - - - -AMEN.

The 5th Commandment.

16. *Cursed --- that setteth light by his father or his mother.*

The 6th Commandment.

25. *Cursed --- that taketh reward to slay an innocent person.*
 24. *Cursed -- that smiteth his neighbour secretly.*
 18. *Cursed --- that maketh the blind to wander out of the way.*

The 7th Commandment.

20. *Cursed --- that lieth with his father's wife.*
 21. *Cursed --- that lieth with any beast.*
 22. *Cursed --- that lieth with his sister.*
 23. *Cursed --- that lieth with his mother in law.*

The 8th Commandment.

17. *Cursed ---- that removeth his neighbour's land-mark.*

The 9th Commandment.

19. *Cursed---that perverteth the judgment of the stranger, fatherless, and widow.*

The 10th Commandment.

26. *Cursed---that confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them.*

Here, the application of the ten intermediate curses is obvious. The first curse seems meant to answer to *the four Commandments of the first table*; which enjoin the worship of the one true GOD, and *forbid Idolatry* *. And the last curse, being a guard to all the precepts of GOD in general, is (in some measure) coincident with *the 10th Commandment*. For *that* likewise is a guard to the preceding Commandments; forbidding even to *meditate* injustice, or to entertain such *desires*, as it would be criminal to indulge to the prejudice of our neighbour.

If then these curses cannot properly be call'd *the Law*, but contain only *the sanction of the Law* i. e. the curse of GOD denounc'd against the violaters of those ten Commandments, which constitute the first and chief part of *the Law* given to the Israelites: then may we pre-

* *Deum tabulæ primæ mandata ad IDOLOLATRIAM abolendam, veluti scopum præcipuum, direxisse, facile percipiamus. Spencer: de Leg. Heb. lib. 1, cap. 2. sec. 1.*

sume, that these curses *were not* what Moses commanded to be engrav'd; and consequently *were not* what Joshua did engrave --- *that* being call'd מִשְׁנֵת תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה *a copy of the law of Moses, which he (Moses) wrote (transcrib'd into his history from the two Tables) in the presence of the children of Israel.* The same objection holds full as strongly against Deuter. ch. 28. For that, containing no commands, but only the blessings promis'd to obedience, and the curfings threaten'd to disobedience, in general, must be allow'd to contain (not a law or the law, but) *the sanction of laws already given.* And in this long chapter, the double sanction of rewards and punishments is deliver'd in such language, as is wonderfully animated and affecting, under all the disadvantage of translation. *

* Our Eng. translation of part of the last verse is this — *And the Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again; and there ye shall be sold unto your enemies for bond-men and bond-women, and no man shall buy you.* Is not every reader struck with the absurdity of this version? Can a man possibly be sold, without being bought? Does not the former necessarily imply the latter? And does not their *not being bought* as clearly imply their *not being sold*? Whereas, if the verb וְהִתְמַכְרְתֶּם was render'd *and ye shall offer yourselves to sale*; the sense would be proper, and expressive of the most bitter sufferings: — *The Lord shall bring you once more into Egypt, the place of your former bondage: yet not as in the days of old, shall be your lot. Hereafter, so great shall be your misery, that many of you shall offer yourselves to be sold, shall pray*

We may fairly presume, that the Law, which was *then read*, was the same with the Law *then engrav'd*. And the manner of expression seems clearly to evince, that the Law *then read* was different from the forms of blessing and cursing, then read likewise. We are told, in *Josh. 8, 34* --- that *Joshua read all the words of the law, the blessings, and the cursings*; mentioning these as three distinct things. Whereas, had the Law been *the very law of the blessings and cursings*; the phrase would then probably have been (not תורה הברכה התורה but) תורת הברכה והקללה).

But, it may be said; What then was *that Law*; a copy of which was engrav'd at this solemn convocation? If neither the antecedent form of curses, denounc'd against particular crimes; nor the subsequent form of blessings and cursings, ascertain'd to obedience and disobedience to the laws of GOD in general: if

to be admitted even as slaves: but a fate, yet more terrible, shall be then your portion. This prophecy, dreadful as it is, was most literally fulfill'd; when, after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, tho' some Jews were sent, as slaves, into Egypt, multitudes were reserv'd for THE SWORD, and WILD BEASTS, in the public theatres. Τῇ δὲ λοιπῇ πλείους τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐπτακαταδίκης ἐπιδόσαντες, ἐπέμψεν εἰς τὰ κατ' Αἰγύπτου ἱερὰ· πλείους δ' εἰς τὰς ἐπιερχομὲν διωδυσσομενὰς Τίτῳ. Φθνησαμένους ἢ τοῖς διακτοῖς σιδήρῳ καὶ θηρίοις. Joseph. Bell. Jud. 6, 9, 2.

neither

neither of these can properly be consider'd as *the Law*; what else is there remaining, to enter its claim to that expression? I answer --- THE TEN COMMANDMENTS; that divine system of the *moral Law*, which may be well call'd THE LAW by way of eminence.* And indeed these ten Commandments have frequently been consider'd, as *the Law* thus engrav'd; tho' the arguments, in support of such an interpretation, do not appear to have been sufficiently attended to.

At our very entrance upon this consideration, the propriety of engraving *the ten Commandments* on this occasion strikes us at once. For, had not the Israelites been brought out of Egypt with a mighty hand, to possess the land of Canaan; there to live as *the servants and the subjects* of the one true GOD? Was there not a *covenant* expressly made with them, to this purpose, at mount Sinai (i. e. Horeb) at their entrance into the wilderness? Did not *the ten Commandments* deliver'd by GOD, and *the promise of obedience* made by the people, constitute the principal part of *that solemn covenant*? And therefore, upon their taking pos-

* In holy Scripture, *the law* is a term us'd variously: sometimes for *the whole old Testament*, as in 1 Cor. 14, 21; and in Acts 7, 53, only for *the ten Commandments*.

session of the land thus promis'd; *What* so proper to engrave upon stones, and fix up near the center of that country for public inspection, as *those ten Commandments*, which make the principal part of *that Law*, of that divine charter, their obedience to which was to secure that country to them, and to their posterity?

But farther: what so proper to be then and there engrav'd, as *those ten Commandments*; on their obedience to which not merely their *temporal prosperity* may have depended, but possibly their *everlasting happiness*? For thus some of the Learned consider the difference here made, between the curses express'd in the 27th and in the 28th chapters of Deuteronomy. In the former, the curse of G O D, being denounc'd indefinitely and at large, may refer to *a future state*, and imply *punishment hereafter*: whereas, in the latter, the cursings are expressly limited to *present afflictions and temporal chastisements*. The verse, which concludes the description of the temporal blessings and cursings, is this --- (Deut. 29, 1) *These are the words of the covenant, which the Lord commanded Moses to make with the children of Israel, in the land of Moab; besides the covenant, which he made with them in Horeb*. On which words the learned Father Houbigant remarks thus ---

In

In his verbis (præter id fœdus in Horeb) significatur, maledictiones eas, quæ hoc in capite (sc. 28) leguntur, non esse earum quæ proximo capite antecesserunt explicatrices; sed alias ab illis, & aliis generis. Nempe maledictiones priores adversum eos denunciatae sunt, qui Legem Decalogi in Horeb datam violarent; neque illæ pœnas comminabantur hac in mortali vita infligendas. Cum contra; posteriores maledictiones istæ pœnas præsentis, easque publicas, denuntient: quia Deus cum Israelitis fœdere se tali devinxerat, ut eorum rempublicam tamdiu tueretur, quamdiu Deum verum colerent.

That the Law thus engrav'd was really *the Law of the ten Commandments, i. e. the Law given at Horeb* (which is expressly mention'd on this occasion) seems farther evident from the following considerations. The book of Deuteronomy chiefly contains the laws of God, as repeated by Moses to the people, towards the conclusion of the forty years of their sojourning in the wilderness. And this repetition seems to have been deliver'd in four speeches: the first being from ch. 1, 6, to 4, 41 --- the second from ch. 5, 1, to 26, 19 --- the third from ch. 27, 1, to 29, 2; containing (separately) the orders relative to the transaction at Gerizim and Ebal --- and the fourth from ch.

29, 2, to 30, 20. After which, we are told in ch. 31, 9; that then *Moses wrote this law, and delivered it to the priests, which bare the ark* --- to be carefully deposited there, with the two Tables (the ten Commandments) which were in the Ark before. And, at ver. 22, we are told; that *on the same day*, on which Moses thus finish'd his book of the Law, he wrote also *The Song* (beyond description sublime and beautiful) which is contain'd in ch. the 32d. With this sacred Ode, and (perhaps *) with ch. the 33d, containing his final benediction of the twelve tribes, were the writings of Moses concluded just before his death.

Now, if Moses previously deliver'd these speeches, which are express'd in the first 30 chapters of Deuteronomy, and then *wrote the Law*; must not this mean, either that he then compos'd *the whole Pentateuch*, or at least concluded it by writing the book of *Deuteronomy*? These speeches, which make almost the whole of Deuteronomy, could not be historically recorded, could not be truly said *to have been*

* It has been conjectur'd, that this 33d chapter, as well as the 34th, may have been the addition of some writer later than Moses; partly, because Moses is there magnificently stil'd *the man of God*; and partly, because express mention is made of *his Song* (contain'd in ch. 32) as if *that was the last part* of his writings. See ch. 31; ver. 22, 24, 25, 26.

spoken,

spoken, till after they had been spoken: and therefore, at least this book of Deuteronomy, if not the whole Pentateuch, was evidently compos'd *after the delivery of these speeches*. If so; when Moses, in his speech relative to Gerizim and Ebal, tells the people twice--- *ye shall engrave the words of THIS law*: as he evidently speaks of some law compos'd before, and at that time referr'd to; so, as neither the Pentateuch, nor the book of Deuteronomy, was then compos'd, *the law* here meant was most probably *the ten Commandments* only. The two Tables, containing these Commandments, were then in the Ark. And as the Ark was doubtless near Moses, whilst he was thus solemnly addressing himself to his brethren; we may consider him as *pointing to that very Law*, when he said --- *thou shalt write upon the stones all the words of THIS LAW*: see Deut. 27; 3 and 8.

But farther; immediately after this last verse, which contains the command as to the words to be engrav'd, it follows --- *And Moses said, Take heed, O Israel! this day thou art become the people of the Lord. Thou shalt therefore obey his voice &c.* Here then he reminds them of the covenant; and the covenant is expressly said (ch. 4, 13) to be *the ten Commandments*

--- *And he declared unto them his covenant, even ten Commandments; and he wrote them upon two tables of stone.* And thus, in *Exod.* 34, 28. ---- *and he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten Commandments.* It should be remember'd: that these Commandments, making only *sixteen verses*, might be easily engrav'd, on that solemn day; and time be left for the other business. Whereas the engraving *eighty verses* (of blessings and cursings) would be improbable; and engraving the *Pentateuch*, or indeed the book of *Deuteronomy*, had been impossible. Admitting then, that the words to be engrav'd were *the law of the covenant* i.e. *the ten Commandments*; we may view this whole transaction proceeding in perfect order.

The Israelites enter Canaan, in consequence of the covenant with GOD --- they no sooner enjoy peace in that land, but they set apart one day for prayer, thanksgiving, and devout remembrance of that covenant --- they first erect *an Altar*, * and offer sacrifices --- they then

* Notwithstanding the opinions of several amongst the learned, it does not seem at all probable, that the Altar (which Joshua built first) was built of *the very same stones* on which the Law was engrav'd; for this evident reason — that the Altar was to be built of stones rough, unhewn, untouch'd by any tool; whereas some hard tool, some instrument of metal, was necessary

engrave the ten Commandments upon two great stones' -- when thus engrav'd, they plaister the stones with plaister, and erect them on some conspicuous point of mount Gerizim --- from them, thus erected, Joshua proclaims the ten Commandments to the people --- *the Law* being thus proclaim'd from Gerizim, by Joshua; some prince, of one of the six tribes upon Ebal, at Joshua's command,² declares the

sary to engrave the Commandments: and as they could not have been engrav'd, so neither could they have been read, *easily*, unless the surfaces of the stones were previously smooth'd by art and labour.

1 These stones are here limited to *Two*, because two large stones would be sufficient; and because it was most obvious for the Israelites to engrave the Commandments upon *two*, in respectful imitation of *the two tables*, on which they had receiv'd those Commandments from God himself. 'Tis certain also, that where only *two* are meant, the Heb. word is frequently in the plural (or, as some call it, the dual) number, without the numeral for *two* express'd at all. Thus Gen. 27, 36; *he hath sup- planted me these* (שָׁנָא שְׁנַיִם times) *two times*. Thus, Lev. 12, 5; *she shall be unclean* (שָׁבָע שָׁבָע weeks) *two weeks*. And thus the words אֲבָנִים גְּדִלוֹרַת, in the very case now before us, are render'd *duos lapides magnos*, in the Lat. version of the Samar. text of Exod. 20, 18.

2 'Tis very frequent in Scripture, to represent a person as doing that, which is done by another in his name and by his authority. And therefore Joshua may be here consider'd, as *proclaiming* both the blessings and the cursings; the former by *himself*, upon Gerizim; the latter by *some prince*, commission'd by him, upon Ebal: without our supposing Joshua to have pass'd from one mountain to the other, to proclaim the whole *in person*.

curse of GOD due to that man, who should violate any of these Commandments ---- this curse is denounc'd twelves times; and each curse, as soon as declar'd from Ebal, is *repeated* aloud by the Levites near the Ark, in the side of which were the two Tables ---- and each curse, having been thus re-proclaim'd by the Levites, is then confirm'd by all the people, saying to each *Amen* --- the Moral Law being thus repeatedly and firmly ratified; then follows a most earnest persuasive to obedience in general, founded upon the promise of *all temporal blessings*: which is pronounc'd by Joshua from *Gerizim*, the mount of blessing --- after which follows a most earnest dissuasive from disobedience in general, founded upon the menace of *temporal afflictions and present punishments*: and this declaration of the many tremendous curses of THE ALMIGHTY, publickly and nationally to be inflicted, is proclaim'd from *Ebal*, and closes this very solemn transaction.

It must have appear'd strange, surprizingly strange, during the reader's perusal of the preceding remarks; that it is not more clearly ex-

son. And to this purpose, the Eng. version is express'd in Coverdale's Bible, in the following words — *There was not one word that Moses commaunded, but Josua caused it to be proclaimed.*

press'd,

press'd, *what this Law*, thus to be engrav'd, *was*: that a point of so much importance should not have been, some where or other, very accurately noted, and very particularly circumscrib'd by Moses; partly for the more secure direction of Joshua, and partly to render this awful transaction more intelligible, thro' future ages. But, all this surprize ceases; all this puzzle is unravell'd; all this uncertainty is at once remov'd; if we allow the authority of the Samar. Pentateuch: if we will but grant, that there may have been in the Heb. text a certain passage, which is now found in all the copies of the Samaritan text and version: and which is also found, exactly as in the Samar. Pentateuch, in that *Arabic* version of it (in the *Arabic* character) which has been mention'd in *pag.* 31; and which is a very valuable, because a very literal version. For, in *Exod.* 20, as soon as the 10th Commandment is concluded, we read in the Samar. Pentateuch the five following verses.

18. *And it shall come to pass, when the Lord thy God shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites, whither thou goest to possess it; then thou shalt set thee up great stones: and thou shalt plaister them with plaister, and shalt write upon the stones all the words of this law.*

And

98 ON THE SAMARITAN

19. *And it shall come to pass, when ye are passed over Jordan; ye shall put these stones, which I command you this day, upon mount Gerizim.*

20. *And thou shalt build there an altar to the Lord thy God, an altar of stones; thou shalt not lift up any iron tool upon them.*

21. *Thou shalt build the altar of the Lord thy God of whole stones; and shalt offer thereon burnt-offerings to the Lord thy God, and shalt sacrifice peace-offerings: and thou shalt eat there, and rejoice before the Lord thy God.*

22. *That mountain is on the other side Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down, in the land of the Canaanites, which dwell in the champian, over against Gilgal, beside the plain of Moreh, near Sichem.*

Here then, according to this truly-venerable copy of the book of Moses, all is clear; the whole is perfectly regular, and in harmonious proportion. We have seen the several circumstances concurring to render it highly probable, that *the ten Commandments constituted the Law*, which was to be engrav'd. And, as it can scarce be conceiv'd, that such a point could have been quite omitted by Moses; it makes greatly for the honour of the Samar. Pentateuch,

teuch, to have preserv'd so very considerable a passage. Why the ancient Jews should omit this passage, can be matter of no doubt at all with those, who mark the honour it does to mount *Gerizim*. And therefore the same men, who corrupted *Deut.* 27, 4, have but acted with uniformity, if they have also corrupted the 20th ch. of *Exodus*; OMITTING *Gerizim* in the latter instance, just as honestly, as they ALTER'D it in the former.

But, that some few verses did formerly follow after the 10th Commandment in ver. 17, and before the 18th ver. of *Exod.* ch. 20; we have not only the authority of the Samar. Pentateuch (which, together with the several foregoing confirmations, may be thought satisfactory) but we have also the authority of an ancient SYRIAC MS, which contains a version of the old Testament, and is catalogued (in the Bodleian Library) N° 3130. Between the 17th and 18th verses, at the very place where this passage is now found in the Samar. Pentateuch; in this Syriac MS (tho' translated from an ancient *Hebrew* copy) there is left, in the middle of the page, a vacant space just equal to the five verses express'd in the Samaritan: and no such vacant space is left any where else, thro' the whole MS; excepting a space some-

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what larger in the 27 chapter of *Ecclus*, and one somewhat less in 2 *Maccab.* ch. 8. The inference, from this very remarkable circumstance, I leave to the learned Reader.

That the Samar. text should be condemn'd as corrupted, *merely*, for having more in it than the Hebrew; no man of learning will maintain. Certainly the Jews *might omit* as easily as the Samaritans *might insert*. And I presume, it has been, and will be hereafter more fully, prov'd --- that several whole passages, now in the Samaritan, but not in the Heb. Pentateuch, are not *interpolations* in the former, but *omissions* in the latter. And as to this particular passage (which, with a very absurd sneer, has been call'd *the eleventh Commandment* *) it is, if genuine, a solemn order from GOD, relative to the ten Commandments just before deliver'd: enjoining the Israelites, that, when they took possession of the land of Canaan, *they should engrave these ten Commandments upon stones, and fix them upon mount Gerizim near Sichem.*

But the whole of this 20th ch. of *Exodus* shall be consider'd hereafter: not only, as it is one of the most important chapters in the old Testament; but also, because there are more

* Carpzov, Crit. sacr. Vet. Test. pag. 606.

differences in this, than in any other chapter, between the Heb. and the Samar. copies. And the method, which I propose to follow, is this --- *first*: to set before the Reader our English translation of the Heb. text in one column, and in another a translation of the Samaritan; placing them opposite to each other, and pointing out by a different character where the Samar. copy varies from the Hebrew --- *secondly*: for the greater satisfaction of the Learned, I have collated all our Heb. & Samar. MSS, which contain this chapter, and also such places in *Deuteronomy* as are parallel to any places in this chapter: and the variations of all these MSS shall be specified --- *thirdly*; I shall take particular notice of the several whole sentences, which are in the Samar. but not in the Heb. copy --- and *fourthly*: I shall offer some observations on the most material amongst the minuter variations.

From the future consideration of this chapter (in the manner here propos'd) there will arise one remarkable Circumstance; which seems to be of considerable importance, and likely to do service to THE CHRISTIAN CAUSE. And perhaps this, tho' not assign'd, may have been one reason for Mr. Collins's

warm attack upon the Samar. Pentateuch. And, if this be true; should not Christians learn to be extremely cautious --- how *they join with Mr. Collins, in opinion upon this article?* Especially; since the weakness of his arguments, as well as the dishonesty of his quotations, will appear fully from the examination of Both; upon which I now enter.

HAVING

HAVING thus submitted to the Learned what I have to offer, in favour of the Samar. Pentateuch, so far as relates to the celebrated corruption of *Deut. 27, 4*; I proceed now to consider such other Objections to this Pentateuch, as have been urg'd by Mr. Collins in his *Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*. And here, I shall introduce my remarks on the particular Chapter, which contains these objections, by a few previous remarks on *this Book in general*.

The manner, which Mr. Collins thought the most advantageous for his attack upon Christianity, was (in part) to lay hold of that strong prejudice, which generally obtain'd, in favour of *the Integrity of the printed Heb. Text*. And, as he flatter'd himself with the notion of an easy triumph, in consequence of this common concession; the reasoning of his book is this ---

The Truth of Christianity depends entirely on proofs from the old Testament.

But the proofs from the old Testament are invalid, and not the same as in the new Testament.

THEREFORE, *Christianity has no proper proofs at all.*

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He pretends; that *the old Testament, literally understood, no where serves the purposes of Christianity* (p. 160:) but if of use, must be understood *allegorically*. He therefore first recommends allegory, as *the only reasoning proper to bring all men to the faith of Christ* (p. 94;) and then ridicules this allegorical interpretation as *absurd*: p. 87, 90. His argumentation, as to passages in the *new Testament* quoted from the *old*, stands thus ---

The passages in the new Testament from the old are not the same as in the old Testament.

But those passages have not been corrupted, in the old Testament.

THEREFORE, *those passages were forg'd, or have been corrupted, in the new Testament.*

Dangerous positions these, if true! And they should awaken the most serious attention of Christians to the consequence of such notions, as are thus made use of to fix *Crimes* upon the authors of the *new Testament*, by denying *Mistakes* introduc'd by the transcribers of the *old Testament*.

To countenance this inverted way of reasoning, and to give his poison'd arrow the greater force; Mr. Collins (p. 54 --- 61) has quoted *Surenhusius*, as saying ---- *that he was fill'd with*

with grief at the passages of the old Testament quoted in the new --- that he convers'd with many Jews, who insolently reflected on the new Testament; affirming it to be plainly corrupted, because it seldom or never agreed with the old Testament; some of whom said, they would profess the Christian Religion, if any one could reconcile the new Testament with the old; he was the more griev'd, because he knew not how to apply a remedy to this evil --- at last he met with a Rabbin, who recommended to him some allegorical Jewish writings, and gave him ten rules, to shew how the Apostles quoted, and why they alledg'd passages of the old Testament OTHERWISE than they are express'd in the original. And thus (says this decent Infidel) the Rabbin establish'd Christianity, just as Luther's Devil did Protestantism!

As to the Integrity of the present Heb. Text; this, he pretends, will be allow'd him by men of all denominations --- by Jews, Infidels and Christians. He asks, p. III --- Do not the JEWS take it for granted, that they have a true copy of the books of the old Testament? Perhaps not, universally: yet, if they do, may not Jews be mistaken? But he demands farther --- Do not all INFIDELS take it for granted? Yes: they either believe, or pretend to believe

believe it; and, as this Gentleman well expresses it, **THEY TAKE IT FOR GRANTED.** They do, indeed, take this great point for granted; and they choose to do so, as being sensible --- that, if the old Testament should be prov'd corrupted, it would probably appear corrupted in those places, which furnish them with the chief topics for buffoonry and profane insult. But then, he adds, p. 112 --- *It has been thought by DIVINES, to be of very ill consequence to Religion, to suppose any alterations have been made in the old Testament.* This also is true. It has, indeed, *been thought* by Divines. But it is hop'd, that the days of so dangerous a prejudice are hastening to a conclusion; and 'tis hop'd farther, that the warm zeal of this eminent *Unbeliever* will contribute not a little to rectify this mistake of *Christians*.

And now, as to this author's attack upon the writers of the new Testament, for quoting *differently* from the old; he concludes (strangely defective in Literature and Logic) that what differs from the old Testament *as now printed* must equally differ from *the original Heb. MSS.* But, the more accurately the quotations in the Greek Testament shall be compar'd with what were *probably* the true readings in the Hebrew; the more clearly (I presume) will it appear ---
that

that one great cause of the present variations of the Greek Text from the Hebrew, is *the corruption of the latter*, in consequence of the mistakes made by transcribers; and because *the Masora* has been founded upon, and has countenanc'd, those very mistakes.

I shall give one instance, of no small moment. St. Peter and St. Paul appeal to the Jews, concerning the resurrection of Christ --- that David prophesied of *the resurrection of some one holy person; who was to die, yet not to see corruption. This, say they, we declare to be fulfill'd in Jesus Christ.* But, if we refer now to the text of the 16th *Psalms*; we shall find the word to be there (and authoriz'd in the text by the Masora) what will totally invalidate the argument of these Apostles. It is there printed חַיִּים; which word, in every other place, is naturally and justly render'd plurally *thy saints*. And yet, if the word here signified originally *thy saints*; the prophecy of a particular resurrection would then vanish --- the plural affirmation would be untrue --- and both *Peter* and *Paul* would be found false witnesses in the cause of God. But surely, these Apostles have not, cannot have thus impos'd upon the world, either wilfully or ignorantly. If the former; where is

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their honesty? If the latter; where is their inspiration?

But, to the proofs from ancient versions, and from the context, we may add (and let us be truly thankful to divine Providence for permitting us to add) the greater authority of HEBREW MSS: many of which are, as yet, preserv'd; and will frequently restore the genuine words of holy Scripture. I have now examin'd *Thirty One* Heb. MSS, which contain this Psalm; and in TWENTY SEVEN (*Fifteen* of which are at Oxford, *Five* at Cambridge, *Six* in The British Museum, and *One* in the possession of Solomon Da Costa Esq;) there is very happily preserv'd the true reading חסידך, in the *singular* number. This is a various reading, which I before mention'd in my Dissertation, tho' not then so very fully confirm'd. And it is *such* a various reading, as has been judg'd by the learned, in England, a powerful recommendation of Our Heb. MSS; and has been applauded by the learned, in other countries, as of very signal importance.

Having thus vindicated the Apostolical quotations, and render'd harmless one of Mr. Collins's most formidable objections; we may proceed now to another leading mistake. Mr.

Collins

Collins employs a large part of his book against *Mr. Whiston*; a writer --- who, tho' wrong in several of his notions, has made learned and judicious remarks on different subjects, and many valuable observations on the printed Text of the old Testament; particularly on the *famous text of Deuteronomy* before consider'd: and this text he suppos'd right in the *Samar. copy*, tho' he has not touch'd the strongest arguments in proof of it. But, had Mr. Whiston been ever so injudicious; Mr. Collins would be equally so, if he could think --- that, to *answer the notions of Mr. Whiston* was much the same as to *confute the doctrines, and subvert the foundations of CHRISTIANITY*.

These previous reflections being made; let us now consider what this unbeliever has advanc'd, in derogation of *the Samar. Pentateuch*; in his long chapter upon this subject.

His first assertion is this; pag. 184. *That the ten tribes, that revolted under Jeroboam, had a Pentateuch among them, may justly be suspected, and cannot be prov'd.* The meaning of which words, together with the words there following (which mention the captivity of the ten tribes) is this --- *it may justly be sus-*

pected, that the ten tribes had not, *and it cannot be prov'd*, that they had, *any copy of the Pentateuch among them*, from their revolt under Jeroboam, till they were carry'd captive by Shalmanesser. In answer to this, let it be remark'd first: that *the Levites* were scatter'd thro' the other eleven tribes; and were to be maintain'd by the first-fruits and offerings of their brethren. And, can it then be *justly suspected*; that so large a part of the tribe of Levi, as must have been interspers'd with those ten tribes, should live without a copy of That Law, upon whose authority alone their right to *particular cities*, and even to a *maintenance*, was founded? * Certainly men could not enjoy so singular an inheritance, nor indeed claim its privileges, without prizing their charter; and without frequently referring to that very grant of Heaven, which so peculiarly conferr'd it. And therefore, 'tis far more probable; that at least *the Levites* (thus station'd up and down in Israel) *had many copies of the Pentateuch*.

Mr. Collins was pleas'd also to forget, in the place before us --- that some of the most eminent *Prophets* were rais'd up among these ten tribes; and preach'd to them (tho' not always

* Num. 35; 2, 7, 8. Deut. 18; 1. Josh. 13; 14, 33.
with

with success) the necessity of worshipping the one true God, and consequently of obeying the Law of Moses. Was the Law of Moses then unknown to Elijah; who was so *very jealous for JEHOVAH, the God of hosts?* Were there not many copies of the Law in Israel; when, even in the days of Ahab and Jezebel, there were in Israel *seven thousand, who had not bowed the knee to Baal?* How could Naboth plead *the iniquity* of selling his vineyard to Ahab, but upon the authority of *Lev. 25, 23 &c?* Must we not conclude, that the book of the Law was taught at Bethel, in the very *school of the prophets*: and can any book be taught, without a copy of it? Was Jehu, king of Israel (so remarkable for his *zeal for JEHOVAH*) unacquainted with the Law; when he so totally cut off the priests of Baal, and destroyed all his images? At least, it would have been a strange accusation of Jehu; to say of him, if he had neither seen nor heard the Law, that *he did not walk in the law of the Lord God of Israel WITH ALL HIS HEART*. But, if we refer to *2 Kin. 17, 7 &c.* we shall find this point determin'd. For there the cause of the captivity of the ten tribes is thus specified --- *They had sinned against the Lord their God, who had brought*

brought them out of Egypt --- and set up images --- and served idols; whereof the Lord had said unto them, ye shall not do this thing --- notwithstanding the Lord had testified against Israel by all the prophets, saying, Keep my commandments, according to ALL THE LAW, which I commanded your fathers, and WHICH I SENT TO YOU by my servants the prophets. And in the very next chapter (ver. 11, 12) --- because they had transgressed the covenant of the Lord, and all that MOSES the servant of the Lord commanded.

Mr. Collins seems also wrong, in asserting here the strict universality of that captivity, as if *not a man* was left behind; but that *every* Israelite was carried away, and *all* the inhabitants afterwards were Heathens. But, many of the common Israelites *might be* left in their own country; * as was certainly the case, at the captivity of the other two tribes afterwards. And, had there been none left; whence *those* Israelites, who (about 100 years after the captivity of the ten tribes) came to Jerusalem, to celebrate the Passover with the men of Judah, in the reign of good king Jo-

* *Si post asportationem decem tribuum, inter reliquias populi (nam ex omnibus tribubus QUOSDAM, pauperiores scilicet, reliquos esse viri docti statuunt) &c. Walton. Proleg. 3, 34.*

siab? For we read in 2 Chro. 35, 18: *there was no passover such as Josiab kept, and all Judah, and ISRAEL THAT WERE PRESENT* וישראל הנמצא i.e. *and such of ISRAEL as were FOUND, left in their own country.*

Pag. 185. Mr. Collins will not allow *the Samaritans* to have had any Pentateuch for a long while; and affirms them to have *all continued Heathens for many ages.* And yet 'tis certain; that, about 40 years after the captivity of the ten tribes, when the Cuthean and other new inhabitants were destroy'd by lions, for not worshipping the God of Israel; Esarhaddon commanded saying, *Carry thither one of the priests, whom ye brought from thence --- and let him teach them the manner of the God of the land. Then one of the priests came, and dwelt in Bethel; and TAUGHT THEM, HOW THEY SHOULD FEAR THE LORD. So they feared the Lord, and served their own Gods --- they feared the Lord, and served their graven images.* Is it then possible for any man of sense (unbias'd by hypothesis) to suppose, that this priest was sent back to the land of Israel, *to teach the manner of the true God, to teach the inhabitants how to fear the Lord; and yet brought with him no copy of that Law, by which only he could so teach?* I am aware,

aware, that some learned men, who would derogate from the antiquity of the Samar. Pentateuch, *pretend* to believe this. But, that this priest, so solemnly sent (to avert for the present, and prevent for the future, the destruction of the inhabitants) should be sent without a copy of that very Law, which he was sent to teach ---- is to me incredible. Hottinger himself allows, that the priest did bring back a copy of the Law; a copy --- *quæ sine dubio ne latum quidem unguem a Mosis autographo recessit*, Exer. Anti-Mor. p. 8.

But tho' the priest was sent; and tho' in consequence of his teaching, (either with or without the Law) *the worship of the true God was again introduc'd into Israel*, and establish'd (the inhabitants worshipping false gods together with JEHOVAH) *within 50 years after the captivity of the ten tribes*; yet Mr. Collins would have it thought, nay he affirms, that the inhabitants continued Heathens *for many ages*. And then Prideaux is made to say, that *the inhabitants continued in gross idolatry (as is on all hands agreed) till the building the temple on Gerizim*. Whereas Prideaux says, consistently with his Bible, that *they continued in that gross idolatry of worshipping other gods* IN CON-
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JUNCTION WITH THE TRUE: which last words are very unfairly omitted.

Pag. 186. And now is introduc'd the famous text of *Deut.* 27, 4; which Mr. Collins here calls *a passage of great importance, designedly corrupted by the Samaritans*: which assertion is feebly supported by the bare mention of *all our Heb. and Greek* copies. But it has been observ'd already (pag. 27 &c.) that neither of these authorities proves any thing. He drops a hint also, as to the 20th ch. of *Exodus*; but *that* likewise has been spoken of already, at pag. 97 &c.

Pag. 187, 188. Here Mr. Collins introduces the memorable *arbitration of Ptolemy*; which has been particularly consider'd, at pag. 67 &c. Nothing therefore need be remark'd farther on this head; than just to observe --- how much *at random* this writer is found to talk of the Samaritans, as *perhaps saying this and that*, and *probably pleading so and so*: when 'tis plain from Josephus (the sole ancient relator of this story) that the Samaritans were not permitted *to plead or to speak at all*; and that the manner, in which the Jews did plead, demonstrates their want of evidence.

Pag. 189. Mr. Collins, after various remarks upon Josephus (and many a *perhaps* not very

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favourable to his own system) here says; *there are two considerations, which seem to him to determine the corruption to be on the part of the Samaritans.* These therefore shall be consider'd; after reminding the reader --- how clearly the corruption has been before prov'd (and from the very text of the Jews) to have been made by the Jews themselves. Let us however attend to this author's objections. The first of these is founded on his dividing the Samaritans into three sorts --- 1. *the revolting ten tribes* --- 2. *the new heathen inhabitants* --- 3. *the apostate or refugee Jews; who join'd the second sort, after the temple upon Gerizim was built.* * Now (says he, p. 190)

* Reland's words are remarkable, as to the number of these seceding Jews, and the consequence of their secession — *A Judæis defecerunt plurimi ad Samaritanos, quum multi Sacerdotes & Israelitæ impediti essent illegitimis conjugiiis. Josephus scribit, rempublicam Judæorum non leviter hac secessione fuisse labefactam. Ipsi Judæi agnoscunt, eo tempore Israellem divisum esse in duas partes; quarum una Ezram, altera Saneballetum sequebatur. Non abs re igitur suspicamur, Samaritanos magis imitatos fuisse mores & ritus Judæorum; relictâque veteri idololatriâ, unum Deum adorasse — Certissime persuasus sum tempore Saneballeti nulla idola coluisse Samaritanos, qui observarunt annos sabbaticos. At unde hoc haurire, nisi ex lege Mosis poterant, in qua cultus unius Dei tam disertis & toties repetitis verbis jubetur. — De solo loco, divino cultui destinato, (coram Ptolemæo) cum iis contendebant Judæi. — Nec tamen diffitentur ipsi (Samaritani) quosdam e suis ad idololatriam defecisse. Dissertat. de Samarit.*

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neither the Jews before the separation of Israel from Judah, nor the first sort of Samaritans, seem ever to have had the least thought of worshipping at mount Gerizim; and the contest, after the separation, was, whether worship was to be perform'd at Jerusalem, or at Dan and Bethel; for the sacredness of which two last places, there was some pretence in antiquity.

The first part of this assertion, as to the ancient Jews, seems confuted by Abraham, the great father and founder of the Jewish Nation. We have seen already (pag. 40) that the place, which he first resided at in the promis'd land, was (by divine command) the very town of *Sichem* or *Shechem*; over which hung mount *Gerizim*: so that *Sichem* might well be the general name of both, and sometimes comprehend the town and its mountain. At this place then Abraham built his first altar; offer'd his first sacrifice to GOD; was there favour'd with the divine appearance; and receiv'd the first promise of the land of Canaan.

'Tis also remarkable; that the habitation appointed to *Joshua*, in Canaan, was the city of *Timnath-serah* in mount Ephraim (*Josh.* 19, 50) yet, at the latter part of life, we find him remov'd to *Shechem*: or, at least, that

he went to Shechem, when he conven'd all Israel, to give them his dying exhortation. But, why exchange his own city for *Shechem*; or why assemble all the tribes at *Shechem*; (especially when *the ark of God* was at *Shilo*;) unless for the solemnity and convenience, deriv'd from *the Altar and the Law* then upon mount Gerizim?

The last chapter of *Joshua* begins in the manner following: *And Joshua gathered all the tribes of Israel to Shechem; and called for the elders of Israel, their heads, their judges, and their officers; and they presented themselves before God.* The meaning of which words seems clearly to be --- that when the men of all the tribes were assembled in and around *Shechem*, to receive the last commands of their victorious leader; he call'd *the chiefs* of all the tribes to himself upon *Gerizim*: where *they presented themselves before the Lord*, and offer'd sacrifice on that mountain, which had been before consecrated by the Law and the Altar; and probably sacrific'd upon *that very Altar*, which Joshua himself had erected there between 20 and 30 years before. GOD being worshipp'd, Joshua makes his last oration. And having, with great art of persuasion, induced them to vow the most resolute obedience

ence to **JEHOVAH**; the 25th and following verses tell us --- *So Joshua made a covenant with the people that day; and set them a statute, and an ordinance in Shechem. And Joshua took a great stone; and set it up there, under an oak, that was BY THE SANCTUARY of the Lord. And he said, Behold, this stone shall be a witness; for it hath heard all the words of the Lord, which he spake unto us: it shall be therefore a witness unto you, lest ye deny your God.* Commentators have been greatly puzzled at the word **במקדש** (*in sanctuario, in loco sancto*) here render'd by *the sanctuary*. The ark was not present; and if it had, the oak could not grow *in the ark*. But the oak might grow in or upon *Gerizim*, in or upon that *holy place* or mountain; and *there* Joshua might with great propriety take some large stone, and set it up as a witness; making at the same time this striking remark --- that the stone, thus set up, *had heard all the words of the Lord* i. e. that very stone had been there, upon that mountain, when the Law of God was inscrib'd, and read to the people, at their former solemn convention. These authorities therefore (deriv'd from *Abraham* and *Joshua*) seem sufficiently considerable for us to assert --- that **THE JEWS** *had thoughts*
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of worshipping, and did worship, at Gerizim, long before the separation of Israel from Judah: contrary to the first part of the preceding assertion of Mr. Collins.

The second part of his assertion is --- that *the first sort of Samaritans* (the ten tribes after their separation) *never thought of worshipping upon Gerizim.* It would be strange, if they had worshipp'd there: when two other places were set apart for that purpose by royal authority; one at (*Dan*) the north, the other at (*Bethel*) the south extremity of their country: whereas *Gerizim*, or *Shechem* (which amounts to the same) was more in the heart of Canaan. And indeed Jeroboam, or any man sensible enough to conduct so extraordinary a revolution in the government, must easily have judg'd --- that *Shechem* (or *Gerizim*) was of all places the most improper for the institution of Idolatry. For what could be more likely to strike the people with a sense of their guilt, in apostatizing from *the true GOD*, and to reconvert them from the worship of Idols, than for them to assemble at that very place, where Abraham first sacrific'd to *the true GOD*; where Joshua and all Israel had solemnly covenanted to worship *the true GOD only*; and where it must
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ever have occur'd to them --- What God *their fathers worshipped in that mountain*. And therefore the very reverse of Mr. Collins's conclusion is true; that Jeroboam, at the separation, prefer'd Bethel to Gerizim, as the place for one of his idol-calves --- not, because Gerizim *had not been*, but because it *had been* so remarkably the place of worshipping the true God, and of repeated covenants never to forsake Him. And as to what he here adds, that *the Jews had no malicious purpose to serve, by corrupting their text*; no one, who has read the preceding remarks, can possibly doubt *the sufficiency of their malice*.

Pag. 191. Our Saviour (he says) *may not improbably be suppos'd to determine against the Samar. readings in his conversation with the woman of Samaria*. A very improbable supposition! For did Christ speak at all of this corruption? Did he even hint at the dispute between Gerizim and Ebal? --- and this is the only *reading* here under consideration. Can then any such determination possibly be extorted from words, which do not at all mention, do not in the least hint at, the corruption in question? The enquiry is not relative to the controversy between *Gerizim and Ebal*, but between *Gerizim and Jerusalem*. Christ,
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in his reply, certainly names that mountain *before* Jerusalem; and so far there is no preference given to the latter --- *ye shall worship, neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem.* The truth is, he carefully avoids determining the question; as what was then, or would soon be, totally unnecessary: agreeably to the paraphrase of this very writer --- *There is little reason to trouble yourself about this question, inasmuch as the occasion will soon be remov'd: for the worship of God will not much longer be confin'd to any place; and so the privilege about which you contend, will come to nothing.* Thus far his paraphrase seems right: but what follows has no kind of authority, and tends only to make Christ contradictory to himself --- misrepresenting him, as determining *for Jerusalem*, in ver. 22; after representing him, as refusing to determine *for or against*, in ver. 21.

The 22d verse certainly has its difficulties; but it clearly relates to *the object*, and not to *the place*, of worship --- *Ye worship ye know not what: we know what we worship: for salvation is of the Jews.* 'Tis generally allow'd, that the Samaritans had, at this time, totally forsaken their idolatries: which yet, perhaps, is not true. And if any remnant of idolatry still adher'd to that people, or was practis'd
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by any small part of them; *so far they* (at least that part of them) *would worship they knew not what*: tho' the rest of the Samaritans should have agreed (according to the intimation of Christ) in worshipping *the father*. * But the words, *ye worship ye know not what*, have been thought by Dr. Clark, Trapp, and others, rather to relate to *the ancestors* of these Samaritans. And perhaps the words of Christ may properly be paraphras'd thus ---
 "Woman, as you take me for *a prophet*, be-
 "lieve me, that the occasion of this dispute
 "[about the place of worship] will be soon
 "remov'd. *Sacrifices*, now offer'd at *both* places,
 "shall e'er long cease for ever. A new Reli-
 "gion is to be establish'd: which will require
 "the true disciples of it to worship in *all*
 "places; every where offering up their own
 "hearts to God, and dispos'd to obey Him
 "in all things. When *your ancestors* came
 "into this land; they knew not the manner
 "of God's worship, and indeed knew not
 "God *Himself*. And even *You*, tho' better in-
 "structed, are yet in both respects defective in

* *Constituentur ipsi Samaritani, quosdam e suis ad idololatriam defecisse. — Quo spectant verba hæc Cyrilli in Johannem: Ου γαρ αρεστος παρὰ τοῖς Σαμαρείταις ἦν Ἰσραηλισμὸς· μεμικτὰ δὲ πῶς ἦσαν Ὀρειοὶ καὶ Ἐλληνικοὶ ἢ ἑκόντων λατρεῖν.* Reland. de Samaritanis.

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“ your knowledge. Knowledge is more abundant with *us*, the people of the Jews; and “ from amongst *the Jews* cometh *salvation* i.e. “ *the Saviour of the world*, who is to introduce “ this new religion, and to render a temple unnecessary either upon Gerizim or at Jerusalem.” * According to this paraphrase, our Saviour’s answer does not determine the woman’s question; yet is it most pertinent and proper; tho’ Mr. Collins declares it *wholly foreign*, unless it relates to *the place* of worshipping: pag. 193. After which he adds, that *the sole reason, why* salvation was of the Jews, *was only, that the Jews worshipped at the place appointed by God*: an assertion, owing either to great presumption, or to a very slender acquaintance with holy scripture.

However, in pag. 194, he advances an argument, which (he thinks) concludes very

* Απονιμει δι τι και πλειον εις σωτηριαν ταις Ιουδαιων λατρευσαι. Eriphanius, in locum. And the following explanation of St. Chrysostom gives no small countenance to the paraphrase here proposed. Τι εν ο Χριστος; εκ ελυσε το ζητημα — κ ως εως ταυτην απηνητησιν η ερωτησιν· παρελκον γαρ· διο τουτο μιν απισιωπησιν· αμφοτερων δι τω τοπων τα πριστοια ανιλων. — Ου ΤΟΠΟΝ ΤΟΠΟΥ ωρετιμων, αλλ της διανοιας την ωρειδρεαν διδασ. — Ουκ ηδισαν οι Σαμαρειται ο σπισκωων, οτι τοπηκον και μερικον θιον ενομιζον ειναι· διοτιρ εμνοι και δαμνηας και αυτοι θιρωπυοντες, και τα αμικτα μιγνηωτες. Ιουδαιι δι της οικωμνης αυτοι ηδισαν οντα θεον, ει και μη παντες. — Πλειονι- τυμειν υμων, γυναι (φησι) τω ΤΡΟΠΩ της ωρεσκωησιως· πλην αλλ και ετος τιλος εχει λειπον.

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logically. *If the time was to come, when men might worship any where, then they might not worship any where, when Jesus spake; and either Gerizim or Jerusalem was then the sole true place of worship and salvation. But one only of those places being then the true place of worship and salvation; Jesus plainly declares which of the two was that place, by saying, Salvation was of the Jews.* Now as the word *salvation*, so strangely thrust into this reasoning, certainly makes nonsense; and as it could be introduc'd, only, to prepare the way for the shocking part that follows, which he himself calls *Digression*: we may consider his reasoning independent of it, thus --- *If the time was to come for worshipping any where, men could not worship any where at that time --- And if Gerizim only, or Jerusalem only, was then the true place of worship; Jesus declares which was the place by, saying, salvation is of the Jews.* To this argumentation I answer first, that our Saviour's words do not at all determine, but evidently avoid determining, as to the more holy or proper place. And secondly, if they did determine; if the answer of Christ was as conclusive, for worshipping at Jerusalem, as Mr. Collins would represent it: my reply is neither more nor less than this --- that *Jeru-*

salem was undoubtedly, at the time of *Christ*, the true place of worship. And therefore, the Samaritans can no otherwise be excus'd for worshipping elsewhere, at that time, than by our recollecting --- that, upon the rebuilding the Jerusalem temple, the Samaritans readily offer'd to assist in rebuilding it, which implied their readiness and resolution jointly to worship in it --- that they profess'd to worship *the same God*, and were therefore desirous to worship him in *the same place* --- but that these peaceable and dutiful intentions were unkindly obstructed, and their proposal for avoiding schism was roughly rejected, by *the Jews*.

Pag. 195. It may have been somewhat difficult for the reader to judge, why Mr. Collins should have been so very desirous to compel the word *salvation* to relate to *place*. But in this page the secret unfolds itself; and it was only meant to pave the way for blasphemy --- to prepare the reader for the most groundless insinuation against *the goodness*, and *the benevolence*, and *the veracity* of The Saviour of the world! This writer tells us, he can by no means think the word *salvation* signifies *the eternal reward of heavenly happiness*. But why? Because (says he) if so; *Christ*, in declaring *that salvation is of the Jews*, must imply, that
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the Samaritans and all other men, besides the Jerusalem Jews, were to be eternally damn'd, and especially for such a matter, of no consequence in itself, as the mere place of worship. How contradictory are these last words to his former imputations of *wickedness* to the Samaritans, for *forsaking the place of worship*; which, if *wicked*, must be *matter of great consequence*! But, not to dwell upon an inconsistency; let us rather attend here to this writer's criminal reflection upon our blessed Saviour. Great indeed must be the malignity of that mind, which could torture the words of Christ into a meaning most evidently never intended; in hopes to expose that most amiable character, and put it to an open shame. But, how could any man, unless lost to every thing fair and equitable, be capable of intimating --- that *the words* salvation is of the Jews (which so naturally mean, that *the Saviour was to arise amongst the Jews*, who yet might be the Saviour of all nations) could possibly signify a declaration from Christ, *that all the Samaritans, and all other men* (and indeed all the Jews themselves, *excepting barely the Jerusalem Jews*) *were to be damn'd eternally*! And yet, after this dreadful insinuation; for which he (good man) had been so long preparing
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the way, by insisting that the word *salvation* must relate to *the place* of worship: at the end of this very digression, he freely acknowledges, that he has only been imposing upon his *readers*, and insulting JESUS CHRIST. For that, *after all*, the words *salvation* is of the Jews *seem to him* (he says) *to signify ONLY*, that the Saviour should arise out of those Jews, who worshipp'd at Jerusalem!

And yet, in defiance of this concession, he dares to observe farther --- that, notwithstanding Christ's insinuation of *damnation to the Samaritans*, he can never suppose, God will ratify such a sentence. Because, the Samaritans (after all his abuses, he now really thinks) *were many of them, very good men* --- because *seven thousand of them* (he says) *were own'd by God to be his people* --- and because *most of the prophets themselves, whose works make a part of the books of the Old Testament, were Samaritans; as Hosea, Joel, Jonah, Obadiab: and yet I presume* (says he) *no one will say, these prophets are DAMN'D* --- notwithstanding the words of Christ! But he dares to go yet farther; and to be still more outrageous against what (he himself acknowledges) was never meant. *Elijah and Elisha* (says he) *two renown'd prophets, were also Samaritans; the first*
whereof

whereof (an evident proof of HIS not being DAMN'D) had a miraculous passage to heaven, going thither in his life-time, in a fiery chariot! These sentences want no labour'd condemnation: being so very base, they must shock even *unbelievers*. Sentences these! which should create an alarming conviction of the wickedness of that man, who could meditate such an unfair attack upon the brightest of all characters; and should make men extremely loth to give up Religion, in compliment to a writer, whose *head* frequently proves as *weak* as his *heart* is *wicked*. For, what can argue greater want of intellect, judgment and memory, than *flat contradictions*? And yet, how does he (in pages 195 --- 197) exalt the true piety of the Samaritans, together with their great knowledge, and the abundance of their religious instruction; telling us, that *most of the prophets themselves were Samaritans* --- that the great prophets *Elijah and Elisha were Samaritans* --- and that *all these prophets seem'd concern'd ONLY to keep up the worship of God* (amongst the ten tribes) *according to the institution of Moses*! And all this; tho' he had expressly asserted (at p. 184) --- that it *never could be prov'd that they had, and might justly be suspected that they had not, one copy of the*

Law

Law of Moses amongst them all: not one copy amongst the whole ten tribes, from their separation to their captivity! Consequently: all the piety of these Samaritans, all their knowledge, all their instruction in the Law of Moses; and all the diligence and unwearied zeal of all the prophets, who seem concern'd for nothing else but to keep up the worship of GOD according to the Law of Moses --- all this was done, and happen'd; without one single copy of the Law of Moses, existing in the whole country! Not one copy in the hand of any one prophet! But (it should seem) the people were taught by the priests, what the priests themselves had never learnt; and both priests and people were, at least multitudes of them, exceeding jealous for the honour of the true GOD, and exceeding zealous for the observation of his Laws, as prescrib'd in the books of Moses --- without ever seeing, or hearing, or knowing, any thing at all about them! Thus candid, sensible, and consistent is Infidelity; in the person of its celebrated advocate, Mr. Collins!

Pag. 197. Here he asks, *whether the Samar. Pentateuch has not the same account of the death of Moses, with the other interpolated passages; which are usually (upon tradition or conjecture)*

jecture) attributed to Esdras: and if it has them, how can that Pentateuch be deriv'd from a copy extant before Esdras? This question, being founded partly on *tradition*, which in this case is various, and partly on *conjecture*, which is always uncertain, may safely be denied; and then the argument, founded upon it, drops of course. 'Tis true; some learned men have conjectur'd, that *Ezra* added to the Pentateuch the last chapter; inserting also those few lines, which are necessarily the remarks of some writer later than Moses. Yet have these additions been ascrib'd by others to different prophets; and, in the opinion of Bp Patrick, the person most likely to have been their author is *Samuel*. But should we allow, that these supplemental verses might be added by Ezra; it will by no means follow, that the Samaritans had no copy of the Pentateuch till after Ezra. Because the additions, made to the Jewish copies by Ezra, *might easily be inserted afterwards* into the Samar. copies, out of a copy or copies brought from Jerusalem, about 40 years after, by *Manasseh*; who was son of Joiada, the high priest at Jerusalem; and, marrying the daughter of Sanballat of Samaria, became the first high-priest of the temple on mount Gerizim.

Pag. 198. *There is a great agreement (says Mr. Collins) in chronology, after the deluge, between the Samar. and Septuagint Pentateuchs; wherein they both differ from the ORIGINAL Hebrew about 700 years. What a master of reasoning is this writer; in concluding, that what differs from the present Heb. text, must equally differ from the original Heb. copies! At least, he must be very defective in literature; not to know, that the Samar. copy, being the same with the Heb. in its language (tho' now different in character) is therefore equally old with the Hebrew, as to its original: and indeed must be so; as not being a version, but the very text itself.*

Pag. 201. *To derogate yet further (says he) from the authority of the Samar. Pentateuch; it is (according to Prideaux) but a transcript from the vulgar Hebrew, out of the Chald. into the old Heb. character: and it has all the interpolations of Esdras. The objection, drawn from the interpolations, has been answer'd already. And should we admit, that the Samar. Pentateuch was transcrib'd from the vulgar Hebrew soon after Ezra, which is by no means granted; yet even then, as the Samar. copy may have been deliver'd down to us with greater accuracy and fewer corruptions, that*
copy

copy may be now preferable to *the present Hebrew*. And that the Samar. copy has been deliver'd down more carefully, in the general, may partly be inferr'd from this very memorable difference --- that the quotations made by *the ancient Christians* from the Samar. text agree with the readings of *the modern Samar. MSS*; but the quotations made by *the ancient Jews* frequently vary from *the modern Heb. MSS*.

But Mr. Collins tells us also from Prideaux that *a great many variations in the Samar. copy are manifestly caus'd by the mistake of the similar letters in the Heb. alphabet, which letters have no similitude in the Samaritan*. In answer to which objection it may be remark'd first, that all reasoning at present upon the similitude of ancient letters must be (of itself) undecisive; unless there be deliver'd down the exact forms of those ancient letters. And yet; if each character had been, in the days of Ezra, entirely the same as it is now printed; this boasted argument, which is founded upon *mistakes suppos'd to be thus made in transcribing the Samar. from the Heb. Pentateuch*, may be answer'd to full satisfaction.

Hottinger was the man, who first started this objection; and he stated it thus --- *The*

*Samar. copy was formerly transcrib'd from the Hebrew; because there are in the Samar. many mistakes of letters, which are similar in the Heb. but not at all similar in the Samaritan.*¹ To prove this last assertion he has produc'd 40 instances of such mistakes: and indeed he might have produc'd twice that number, if you only allow him the following criterion--- that every word or letter in the Samaritan, which differs from the Hebrew, is a mistake in the Samaritan.

'Tis a matter of no small surprize, that this objection of Hottinger's could have been so splendidly display'd by himself, as the most clear and convincing demonstration; ² and should have been so warmly embrac'd by Prideaux, and other learned men; when it is built upon principles, some of which are false

1 — *Quæ confusio (literarum dictarum) APUD HEBRÆOS FACILLIMA, (apud) Samaritanos valde monstruosa, probe attendenda.* The several distinctions, on which he founds his demonstration, are exhibited in the 53d page (agreeably to various affirmations in other pages) of his *Exercitationes against* the very learned *Morinus*.

2 *Pentateuchus Samariticus, apographum vitiosum ex Hebræo autographo demonstratur. — Illa, tanquam arietem immotum, proferens; quibus primam argumentorum aciem instruximus. — Hac prima serie argumentorum pentateuchum Sam. ab Hebræo descriptum luculentissime demonstrabimus. — Elucet, quod, sine omni dubio, Samaritani ex Judaico descripserint. —* See the title, preface, and pages 44, 52.

at first sight, and others very easily confuted. For, does not one glance of the eye discover, that some of the letters produc'd, as *similar in the Hebrew*, are not similar at all? --- such as \aleph and γ — \aleph and η — \aleph and η — η and γ — η and γ . And yet, these are five out of the eleven sets of letters, which he produces as mistaken, *thro' their great likeness in the Hebrew*. Again: does not the eye at once discern, that the following letters, produc'd as *not at all similar in the Samaritan*, are very similar? --- such as \aleph and \aleph — \aleph and \aleph . And yet, these are two out of the remaining six sets of letters, produc'd as having *no likeness in the Samaritan*. But *these are very similar*. And therefore, if the variations of these letters in the Samar. from the Heb. are truly corruptions in the Samaritan; then may they have been made in transcribing the Samar. copies from one another. And thus, these two last sets of letters *only* set aside 20 out of his 40 instances.

But still, the circumstance most surprizing is --- that Hottinger should triumphantly exhibit so many words as corrupted, and that learned men should instantaneously conclude them corrupted; when many of the very instances, thus given as corruptions, are not to be

be found in *any one* English or French Samar. MS; tho' *England* can boast of SEVEN, and *France* of FOUR. The four French MSS have been collated with these objected instances by the learned Father *Houbigant*; who has given a table of confutations, in his excellent *Prolegomena*, p. 93. * And I have myself collated the seven Eng. MSS, so far as to form a full and compleat answer to Hottinger's objection. And the reader will find, towards the close of this volume, a Table specifying Hottinger's instances; where the readings of these eleven Samar. MSS will be given, in parallel columns. From this collation of all these MSS it will appear --- that Hottinger has specified several corruptions, which are not found in any one of the Fr. MSS --- that our Eng. MSS are equally free with the

* In the same *Prolegomena*, p. 65, there is the following answer to this same objection. *Id qui opponebant, litteras Samariticas parum cognitās habebant. Nam quas litteras pro exemplo afferebant, eæ sunt utraque in lingua similes. Tales sunt ה ו ה, ו ו ה. Quod vero iidem in medium proferebant litteras י ו, chaldaicas satis similes; quæ sunt Samaritice longe inter se dissimiles; in quibus litteris volebant aliquando errasse Samaritanos scribas: id jam quæritur, utrum ii errores Samaritanorum fuerint scribarum. Neque vero ego in Samar. codice unquam vidi sic errasse scribas, ut Vau pro Yod scriberent. Et sæpe in notis criticis docemus, iisdem in litteris describendis sæpe labi Judæos scribas, in quibus Samaritani non labuntur.*

French, and in several instances more free, from the corruptions thus insisted on --- particularly, that near 20 of the corruptions enlarg'd upon by Hottinger are not found in any one of the Eng. MSS; and that several of the other corruptions are found in *one* or *two* only, the other MSS preserving the true readings.

I shall give here a few instances, reserving the rest for the future Table. 'Tis objected by Hottinger, that the Samar. Pentateuch, in *Exod.* 28, 9, reads שחם instead of שחם: yet three out of the four French, and all the five Eng. (i. e. *all* which have this verse) read שחם --- *Exod.* 32, 8; מחר instead of מחר (which he calls *illustre exemplum*) yet all the Eng. and all the Fr. MSS read מחר --- *Exod.* 39, 11; נפכ for נפכ: yet all the Eng. and all the Fr. MSS read נפכ --- *Lev.* 5, 4; לבטא for לבטא: yet all the Eng. and all the Fr. MSS read לבטא --- *Num.* 21, 18; חברוה for חפרוה: yet all the Eng. and all the Fr. MSS read חפרוה --- *Num.* 21, 30; נירם for נירים; yet all the Eng. MSS, and (at least) one Fr. MS, read נירם --- *Deut.* 21, 17; עונו for אנו; and yet all the Eng. MSS, and one Fr. MS, uniformly read אנו. I shall only remark farther upon this head, at present; that many of those

those readings, which Hottinger points out as corruptions in the Samar. text, *may be* genuine there, and corrupted in the Hebrew. For, as to the proper names of *Calah*, *Hul*, *Masb* and *Hadoram* (four of the instances produced from *Gen. 11*) who can prove, that these are not express'd properly in the text of the Samaritans? And as to common words, where the context will in part determine; I shall prove hereafter, that the Samar. Pentateuch is right, and the Heb. wrong, in a place where Hottinger condemns the former in compliment to the latter.

Hottinger, in the warmth of his zeal to enumerate a multitude of instances, has produc'd some confessedly inconclusive. His point was to prove --- that letters mistaken in the Samar. copy are similar in the Heb. alphabet, not in the Samaritan; and therefore, that the Samar. transcriber was deceiv'd by *the similar shape* of the Heb. letters. And yet, in his very first instance, not only *ℵ* and *ϣ* are not similar, but the mistake is owing to the *transposition of a word*, and not to the *change of a letter* --- owing to a transposition, which (as Hottinger himself says) may be call'd *levis particularum inversio*. His second and third instances are also of *ℵ* and *ϣ*, letters very
unlike

unlike as to shape, but sometimes pronounc'd with the same sound; and therefore similarity of *sound*, and not of *shape*, may have occasion'd these variations. * So that his demonstration is again confuted; because it proceeds partly upon such a similitude, as misled *the ear*, and not *the eye*: agreeably to his very inconsistent acknowledgment in p. 50 --- where he owns some corruptions to have undoubtedly proceeded, not from *the shape* of letters, but from *their pronounciation* --- *mutato in N, vitio, sine dubio, ut alias, orto ex PRONUNTIATIONE.*

As it must appear strange, that many of the words cited by Hottinger (as corrupted in the Samar. Pentateuch) are not to be found in any one of the eleven Samar. MSS before-mention'd; it becomes necessary to state his authorities. His account (in the preface) is this --- That he read over, three times, a written Samar. Pentateuch, belonging to Golius; during the examination of which, another Samar. MS was sent to Lüd. De Dieu at Leyden by A. Bp Usher: which second MS

* F. Simon says — *Aleph and Ain are sometimes confounded, because their pronounciation is almost the same: these are two A's (according to St. Jerom) one of which is pronounc'd stronger than the other.* Book 1, ch. 11.

being collated with the first, he says, *Ex illarum collatione vidi CONSTANTIAM UTRIUSQUE in eo, quod, vel non, vel sæpissime male, Hebraice & scriberent & loquerentur.* *

The first MS is now in the library at Leyden; catalogued N°. 1, amongst the MSS of Golius: and the question therefore is --- *What is become of the second; that, which came from Usher?* De Dieu seems to have consider'd it as a present; for in the dedication, prefix'd to his annotations on the Acts of the Apostles, he tells the Primate --- *Tuis literis fui salutatus, & (quod omnem spem longe maxime superabat) amplissimo Pentateuchi Samaritani MUNERE beatus.* And yet Usher seems to have only lent it him; as he did other MSS, which he afterwards desir'd might be return'd. For Usher's library was (as Spanheim justly stil'd it) *the library of the learned world*: and he sent this Samar. Pentateuch to De Dieu, in 1629, exhorting him to print it; that De Dieu might have *the glory* of being its first publisher. The following is the description which Usher gives of it, in his letter to De Dieu --- *Ecce tibi Samaritanorum illud Pentateuchum --- tamdiu desideratum veneranda*

* He just mentions a *third* Samar. MS, but gives no account of it; only saying, in pag. 49 — *Tria exemplaria Samaritica, quæ inspexi, legunt* פתח. anti-

antiquitatis monumentum. Recentius est exemplar; verum ex antiquioribus satis fideliter expressum. Leviticum a se descriptum annotavit librarius --- אָנָּהּ קָדָשׁ מִשְׁכָּן מִשְׁכָּן

* מִשְׁכָּן מִשְׁכָּן אֲנִי מִשְׁכָּן אֲנִי מִשְׁכָּן

menſe Giumadi altero, anni 900 filiorum Iſmaelis: i. e. 1495. Geneſeos librum, qui caſu aliquo exciderat, ab alio ſuppletum fuiſſe res ipſa loquitur; & quidem מִשְׁכָּן מִשְׁכָּן אֲנִי

* אֲנִי אֲנִי (ſi ego decurtatas illas voces recte interpretor) anno Heg. 986 i. e. 1578.

Uſher, in his letter to L. Cappellus, 1652, ſays farther --- Samar. Pentateuchum vel primus, vel certe inter primos, noſtris temporibus in occidentem ipſe intuli. --- Non prius deſtiti, quam ex Syria & Palæſtina quinque vel ſex illius exemplaria (una cum Arabicæ verſionis textus illius parte magna, & Arabici in eundem commentarii fragmento) mihi comparaviſſem. Of theſe five or ſix copies, we may fix the preſent place of five. One was given to Sir Rob. Cotton; and is now in the Britiſh Muſeum, catalogued Cotton, Claudius B 8. Another was given to A. Bp Laud; and is now in the Bodleian, catalogued N^o 624. And in the Bodleian are three others, N^o. 3127, 3128, 3129; which three copies were likewiſe Uſher's;

were lent by him to Walton, for the benefit of his Polyglott; and were afterwards (with three other very valuable MSS) purchas'd of Usher's heirs by the Curators of the Bodleian library.

If Usher therefore had only *five* copies; the copy sent to De Dieu must be one of the five before-mention'd. But if he had *six*; then the copy sent to De Dieu is now wanting: which indeed is evident from the preceding description of it. The elegant catalogue of books in the Leyden library, publish'd in 1716, shews that it was not deposited there: and if any person would please to make known, *in what other library it now is*; the discovery would be very acceptable to the curious. For it seems somewhat difficult to believe, that this Ufferian MS should really agree with the Leyden MS, in such a variety of strange corruptions, with so much *constancy*; unless one had been copied from the other, or both from the same faulty exemplar. *Omnis exceptio confirmat regulam*; this is an establish'd maxim. So that Hottinger must be understood to assert the almost universal consent of his two copies; when he notes their disagreement only in *four* of his many instances: of these *four*, he charges Usher's MS as being wrong in
two;

two; and yet neither of these *two* instances is to be found in any one English or French Samar. MS. In short; 'if Hottinger's two copies did uniformly contain the many corruptions imputed to them; 'tis allow'd, they were bad copies. But this by no means affects the authority of the Samar. Pentateuch, in general; because *there are so many other copies, free from such corruptions.* And this demonstration of Hottinger's must fall to the ground, because prov'd to have been built upon very wrong principles; *upon the likenesses and unlikenesses of certain letters very improperly assign'd; and upon the then prevailing prejudice, that every variation in the Samaritan from the Hebrew must be a corruption in the Samaritan.*

Pag. 202. This page of Mr. Collins consists of a few odd matters, not very material. Such as --- *the compilation of the vulgar Heb. Pentateuch by Esdras, and transcript of it into Chald. characters: how long after he pretends not to determine.* Such as --- *Prideaux supposes or conjectures: two words, which our philosopher gives us disjunctively, as different in sense, tho' ever thought (till his time) to mean just the same.* Such again as --- *Mr. Collins supposing, or conjecturing.* And such as --- *the Samaritans seeming to have had no*
occa-

occasion for the law of Moses (and for the very reason, which of all others made it most necessary) because they extreamly wanted it, i. e. because *they served heathen gods*. That they serv'd heathen gods, he proves; because *they dedicated their temple to Jupiter*. And he wisely concludes that charge to be indisputable; because he had it only from *Josephus*, their most bitter and sworn enemy. But perhaps, we may apply very properly to *this charge* the words of Hottinger upon another occasion --- *hanc calumniam in Judæorum scholis cusam, pro more, Judæi sycophantice detorserunt --- quid miremur, hoc idololatriæ stigma Samaritanis, ab adversariis Judæis, inique & falso inustum esse?* Exer. Anti-Morin. p. 18.

Pag. 203. Here Mr. Collins labours to prove Mr. Whiston absurd, or inconsistent; which charge, if made good, will be of small consequence.

Pag. 204. We have here two *suppositions*; which are suppos'd, in direct contradiction to the decisions of the most learned authors. *Supposing* (says he) *with Simon and many other learned men, that the present Jewish (which is the Chaldean or Assyrian) character was the character always in use among the Jews; and that the Samaritan (that is, the Phœnician,*

or

or Canaanitish, or, as it is also call'd, the old Hebrew) character was never us'd by the Jews before the captivity --- we need not wait for the conclusion, because nothing can follow from such premises. For, these are such *Suppositions*, as put the whole art of *supposing* quite out of countenance! 'Tis here first suppos'd that *the present Jewish character was the character ALWAYS in use among the Jews*; which seems necessarily to mean --- that *the Jews NEVER us'd any other character*. And yet 'tis here also suppos'd, in the second place, that *after the captivity, they us'd the Samar. character*; and therefore *not always the present Jewish*! If, by the Jews *always using the present Jewish character*, can possibly be meant their *sometimes using that*, and *sometimes the Samaritan*; then is the Samar. still admitted a rival to the present Jewish character, even in the use of it among the Jews. The *oldest* letters, us'd by the Jews, which are now extant, are certainly in the Samar. character: since this character (at least, letters much more similar to *that* than to the present Jewish) appears on several Coins, struck by Simon &c. about 140 years before Christ. Frælich, in his *Annales Regum & Rerum Syriae*, gives us 26 of these Coins; of which 20 are gene-

generally allow'd by the learned to be *genuine*. How strange then it is for Mr. Collins, who would willingly be thought a man of erudition, to talk of *the present Jewish as the character ALWAYS in use* among the Jews! But, if so; then the *present Jewish* must be the *oldest Jewish character*; (tho' the *Samar.* be here call'd *the old Hebrew*;) which *oldest Jewish character* is however (he says) *the Chaldean or Assyrian*. And yet; if *the present Jewish* be *the Chaldean character* (first brought from Chaldea, after the captivity) then *the present Jewish* was not *always* the Jewish character. On the contrary: if *the present Jewish* was *always* the Jewish character; it may be as old, and older than *the Chaldean*. And if so; then, to call *the oldest Jewish character Chaldean or Assyrian*; or to give it a denomination taken from any other country, merely because that country happen'd (afterwards) to use the same; must be uncommonly absurd.

Having been thus led to mention the Heb. and Samar. characters; and presuming, that some farther remarks upon this subject may furnish a more compleat confutation of Mr. Collins, upon this and a preceding article: I shall express my self more particularly.

What

What was exactly the form of the oldest Heb. character, of the character divinely inscrib'd upon the two Tables, and us'd afterwards by Moses and the Israelites; perhaps we shall never learn. The only *possible* means left for such a discovery seems to be --- *copying the Inscriptions on the written mountains*, in the wilderness near mount Sinai; which Inscriptions the late Bp of Clogher inferr'd (from the circumstances related of them) *might be* engrav'd there by the Israelites: and therefore his Lordship was zealous for the sending thither some person, on purpose to copy them. That this may not be thought a whim, founded only upon the idle tale of some *modern* itinerant; I shall produce the testimony of a learned traveller, who wrote in Greek more than 1200 years ago.

The author is *Cosmas Ægyptius, vir literis adprime eruditus; qui Indiam Orientalesque alias regiones peragravit, scripsitque an. Christi 535.* This account is from Montfaucon, * who thus translates the testimony of Cosmas --- *Cum scriptam a Deo legem accepissent Israelitæ, ibi primum literas edidicerunt; ac solitudine, ceu quieto quodam literario ludo, usus Deus, ipsos totis 40 annis exarandis literis exerceri sivit.*

* *Collectio nova Scriptorum Græcorum*, tom. 2. p. 205.

Quamobrem in deserto Sinai, inque omnibus Hebræorum mansionibus, videre est lapides omnes, ex montibus delapsos, literis Hebraicis inscriptos: ut EGO, qui isthac iter habui, testificor. Quas inscriptiones Judæi quidam, qui ipsas legerant, narrabant nobis ita habere: profectio talis --- ex tribu tali --- anno tali --- mense tali. Illi vero, utpote qui nuper literas edidicissent, frequentius scribebant, & literas multiplicabant; ita ut istæc omnia loca Hebraicis insculptis plena sint: quæ, ut quidem æstimo, INCREDULORUM CAUSA hætenus servantur.

But should the very letters, us'd by Moses, be now undiscoverable; yet may we conclude, that *the same* letters were us'd also by Joshua, and *introduced* by him into the land of Canaan. Antecedently to this conquest of Canaan, the Canaanites might be acquainted with no other kind of writing than *the hieroglyphical*: * for, perhaps, it has never yet been fully

* It hath been prov'd at large, that *marks for things*, by a kind of *picture writing*, were the first rude effort of *every people upon earth*, to convey and perpetuate their intelligence and conceptions to one another. — Such a general concurrence must needs be esteem'd the uniform voice of nature, speaking to the first rude conceptions of mankind: for not only the *Chinese*, *Mexicans*, and *Egyptians*, but the *Scythians* likewise (not to speak of those intermediate inhabitants of the earth, *the Indians*, *PHOENICIANS*, *Ethiopians*, *Etruscans* &c.) all us'd the same way of writing by picture and hieroglyphic. — All hieroglyphic writing

prov'd, that the Canaanites, or Phœnicians, were acquainted with any Alphabet more early. The art of expressing sounds by *literal characters* seems to have been a discovery truly *worthy of God*; and perhaps, the amazing combination of a very few letters, to express words infinite in number, is *such knowledge as was too wonderful and excellent for man; he could not attain unto it.*

If letters were first taught by the two Tables, deliver'd by God from Sinai to the Israelites; doubtless, the Canaanites and Phœnicians would be impatient to learn, even from the conquerors of Canaan, an art so full of wonder and so extensively beneficial. ¹ Letters, thus introduc'd into Phœnicia, soon travell'd into Greece, under the conduct of *Cadmus*, or (as his name implies) *a man from the EAST* --- which was the situation of Phœnicia with respect to Greece, ² And this introduc-

ting was absolutely forbidden by the 2d commandment. — Alphabetic characters were a matter of much importance to the Hebrews, as to the integrity of their religion. *Divine Legation*; Edit. 3, 1758; vol. 2, par. 1, pag. 121 — 94 — 148 — 150.

¹ *Phœniciis characteribus olim omnes CHANANÆI uti sunt & Hebræi; & adhuc Samaritani utuntur.* Harduin. in Plin. nat. hist. lib. 7.

² *Cadmus — illiteratis antea Græcis Phœnicias literas tradidit; nominaque literarum, quæ ad nostram usque ætatem, nullo pene admissso discrimine, perseverant. — Alii verisimilius putant,*

tion of letters amongst the Greeks, who were before that (as Herodotus thinks) totally illiterate, is judg'd by some to have been as early as the days of *Joshua*²; and by others (which is more probable) during the time of the *Judges*³.

vocem (Cadmus) *Orientelem nationem significare* ; *cujusmodi erant Phœnices respectu Græcorum* : *עֲמֹנִי* (Cadmonii) inter Phœnicias gentes in libro *Josue* memorantur. Montfauc. palæograph. Græ. p. 115, 117. Eusebius, who liv'd near 200 years before Christ, says — *Μωσην γραμματι παραδυναί τοις Ιουδαίοις πρῶτον, πρὶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων Φοινίκας παραλαβόν, Ἑλλήνας δὲ πρὶν Φοινίκων.* This testimony is preserv'd by Eusebius, in his *Præp. Evang. lib. 9, cap. 26*. We read also in Eusebius, *lib. 10. cap. 5* — *Πρῶτος τὰ κρῖνα γραμματι Ἑλλήσιν εἰσὶν ἡγήσαντο ΚΑΔΜΟΣ, τὸ γὰρ ΦΟΙΝΙΞ ἦν, ὅθεν καὶ Φοινικὴ τὰ γραμματὰ πρὸς τῶν παλαιῶν ἐπικλήθησαν. Εἰσι δὲ, οἱ Σύροις γραμματὰ ἐπίνοσαι λέγουσι πρῶτους. Σύροι δ' ἂν εἴν καὶ Ὑδαίοι, τὴν γαίην Φοινίκης, καὶ αὐτὴν τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν Φοινικὴν (μετακίετα δὲ Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ ἡμᾶς δὲ Παλαιστίνην) οἰομαζόμεν οἰκουμένης.*

1 Οἱ δὲ Φοινίκης ὅτοι, οἱ σὺν Καδμῷ ἀπικερδρῶι, ἐσθλὰς εἰς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας γραμματὰς, καὶ ἰστέα στίχῳ Ἑλλήσι, ὡς ἡμεῖς δοκίμοι πρῶτα μὲν τοῖσι καὶ ἀπαιὲς χροῦνται Φοινίκης. *Lib. 5.*

2 Cadmus, ut putatur, tempore *Josue*, annis ante Christum 1500, Græcis literas tradidit. Montfauc. palæog. p. 115.

3 Sir J. Newton places this as late as the year before Christ 1045. Many of the Phœnicians and Syrians fleeing from Zidon, and from David, come, under Cadmus and other captains, into Greece &c. There is no instance of letters, for writing down sounds, being in use before the days of David, in any other nation besides the posterity of Abraham. Letters began to be in use in Egypt, in the days of Thoth, that is, a little after the flight of the Edomites from David, or about the time that Cadmus brought them into Europe. Chronol. p. 13, 210.

Now,

Now, that the first Greek letters were deriv'd (as to shape, power, and numerical value) from the Phœnician, is generally allow'd; and that the Pelasgic, and Cadmean, letters were much more similar to the present Samar. than to the present Hebrew, has been clearly shewn by Montfaucon, Chishull, and many other writers. And thus there is a firm foundation laid for asserting, that the Samar. character is more ancient than the Hebrew.

But here I beg leave to observe, that I do not (with most of the learned) consider the present Heb. alphabet as having been *originally*, but as being *casually*, different from the Samaritan: not as a system of letters introduc'd, *de novo*, amongst the Jews, at any one time; after the captivity, or at any other particular period. On the contrary, I presume, that these two alphabets were originally one and the same; (as *several* of the letters continue to be at this day:) and that the differences, now observable in others of these letters, are entirely owing to the gradual changes introduced by time.

Let us reflect for a moment, how different is the form of the letters us'd by *Englishmen*, at present, from what it was only 200 years ago: so very different, that the men of these
days

days can scarce read the hand-writing of their great-grand-fathers. May we not then suppose, that the variations in writing have been greater, in two different nations, than amongst men of the same nation; and greater, in the long interval of 2000 years, than of 200; and still greater, in proportion as the two nations have had less intercourse and communication? But, what two nations have ever hated each other more remarkably, and have been estrang'd from one another more completely, than *the Jews*, who had *no dealings with the Samaritans*?

The question then is --- *Which* of these nations has *best preserv'd* the ancient alphabet? *Which* of them has deliver'd down the old Heb. letters *with the fewest and the least variations*? Both nations may be suppos'd to have made, both certainly have made, some changes. We have ancient *Samar.* letters differing from the modern; just as is the case also with the *Hebrew*. No man can doubt some changes in the SAMARITAN; if he compares the modern Samar. letters with those express'd upon the ancient Shekels; and if he compares also the letters of different Shekels with one another. If again he compares the modern Heb. letters with those on the Basili-
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dian Gems, or with those of the ancient MS mention'd also by Montfaucon; * he cannot doubt great changes in the HEBREW. If he can want farther evidence, let him inspect the Heb. MSS still extant; and see, how differently the same letters are shap'd by the Jews of different ages and in different countries: particularly let him inspect, in the Bodleian library, an Heb. MS of the book of *Job* (catalogued N° 6055) which some of the learned, tho' well vers'd in the common Heb. character, have not been able to read at all.

Upon the whole: that *the modern Samaritan*, with its variations, is more properly *the old-Heb. Alphabet*, because more *nearly resembling* it; seems very credible for the following reasons.

1. Many of *the Jews* themselves, and in their very *Talmud*, allow the Samar. to be the more ancient character: see *Walton's Proleg.* 3, 32. *Syncellus*, who flourish'd about the year of Christ 792, mentions the Jews as confessing the Samar. to be both a *true copy*, and

* *Prelim. Diff. Orig. Hex.* p. 22. In this page of Montfaucon, he delineates the Heb. letters of an ancient MS; amongst which letters, the following differ much from their modern forms — ק פ ט כ נ ו ז ה ו ט כ נ פ ק ת. And yet, notwithstanding the differences of these letters, he says, *Ex MSto vetusto formas eas deligimus, quæ magis ad litterarum Heb. figuram accedebant.*

also

also the *most ancient* copy --- Το Σαμαρειτων αρχαιοτατον (αντιγραφον) και τοις χαρακησιν Διαλλατων, ο και ΑΛΗΘΕΣ ειναι και ΠΡΩΤΟΝ Εβραιοι καθομολογουσιν. *Chronograph.* p. 83 and 88.

2. *Jerom* tells us, that the word יהוה was express'd in some *Greek MSS*, in his time, in the ancient Samar. letters.¹ *Origen* also, about 150 years more early, affirms, that in the accurate *Heb. MSS*, the same name of *God* was express'd, not in the (then) *modern*, but in the (then) *ancient* letters, meaning the *Samaritan*.² On these two authorities *Chifhull* makes the following just reflection --- *Non potest igitur non in nihilum abire inanis ista Rabbiorum recentiorum hypothesis, qua duplicem apud Judæos characterem, sacrum nempe & profanum (atque illum quidem Assyriacum, hunc vero Samaritanum) confinxere. Profanum enim characterem quis sanus dixerit, quo Dei nomen ineffabile depictum est a Judæis Hellenistis; & qui in Græca etiam exemplaria eo fine est receptus, ut antiquam illam formam Tetragrammati*

¹ *Præf. ad lib. Regum.*

² *Singularissimum est quod ait Origenes, etiam suo tempore, nomen יהוה in accuratioribus exemplaribus Hebræorum prisco illo caractere, baud dubie Samaritano, non autem Judaico & hodierno, descriptum fuisse; quia nimirum Esdræ aliisque religio fuit venerandum illud nomen aliis, quam primitus digito Dei scriptum fuerat, literis exarare. Montfauc. palæograph. p. 120.*









primigeniam & Mosaicam testaretur? Antiq. Afiat. p. 29.

3. If we examine the celebrated *Palmyrene Inscriptions*, as explain'd by the learned Mr. Swinton, in our philosophical transactions (*vol. 48, par. 2*) and consider the two alphabetical tables there given, at *pag. 693* and *740*; we shall find those letters in a sort of middle state between the Samar. and the Hebrew: the letters ש פ כ נ ט ה ו being more like the Samaritan; and א ב ד י ט ס ע ת more like the Hebrew. These Palmyrene words, tho' Syriac in their *language*, are not in the Syriac (at least, not in the modern Syriac) *character*. But the letters partake of both the Samar. and the Hebrew: too much chang'd, to be call'd *the ancient Samaritan*; and not enough chang'd, to be call'd *the modern Hebrew*. And therefore the following remark, there made in *pag. 712*, seems to be just --- *These Inscriptions may be consider'd in the light of MSS, written in the Chald. or Heb. character, 1500, 1600, and even 1700 years old.*

4. If we ascend to 135 and 140 years before Christ, we find the letters of all the *genuine Jewish Shekels* approaching nearly to the Samaritan. And if we ascend 200 years higher; the letters on several *Inscriptions*,
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found lately amongst the ruins of *Citium* in Cyprus, approach still more nearly to the *ancient Samaritan*, or (which is the same thing) to the *ancient Phœnician*. See Mr. Swinton's *Inscriptiones Citieæ*. And lastly; the famous *Sigean Marble*, whose inscription is fix'd by Chishull at 600 years before Christ, exhibits *Greek* letters very similar to the *Phœnician*, from which they were taken; which *Phœnician* letters are properly stil'd *the ancient Samaritan*. Thus Chishull --- *In Græcis præcipue spectanda est omnimodo illa, quam præ se ferunt, ad Phœnicias similitudo* --- *Cadmeis Phœnicibus eadem fuere literæ, quæ & Samaritis postea Israeliticis fuerunt: Samaritis eadem quæ & Judæis ipsorum fratribus, ad asportationem usque Babylonicam*. Pag. 25, 28. And thus also Montfaucon --- *Liquidum videtur, Samar. literas easdem atque Phœnicias, aut ipsis prorsus similes fuisse; eæ vero sunt Græcis (vetustissimis) ita similes, ut non aliunde petenda sit Græcarum literarum origo: quod plerique omnes eruditi fatentur*. Palæograph. p. 120.

Should an argument be drawn, in favour of *the greater antiquity* of the *Hebrew* letters, from *their greater simplicity*; I would observe --- that letters, more complicated, are naturally reduc'd by degrees to letters that are less compli-

complicated, and wrote with more ease and expedition : whereas it is against nature, for letters more simple to be chang'd into others more involv'd, and more difficult for the writer to express. And therefore ; as we can easily suppose the Pentateuch to have been transcrib'd but seldom by *the Samaritans*, who were few in number, when compar'd with the Jews : so *the Jews*, as they had many more sacred books to transcribe, and transcrib'd them more frequently, on account of the multitudes of their people, would study to lessen their labour, by reducing their letters to forms as short and as simple as possible. Thus, for instance ; *the Yod*, occurring very frequently, would be gradually reduc'd from the Samar. form  to the Hebrew form י —  to מ —  to ל —  to נ —  to ד —  to כ —  to פ — and  to ק. I shall close these remarks with an extract from *Bianconi*, who lately publish'd an excellent treatise on this very subject --- *Ego vero puto litteras veteres Hebræorum non fuisse publica auctoritate immutatas ; neque Esdram novas litteras tradidisse ; sed ex iis, quæ in siclis extant (paululum immutari cæptis) commodo & celeritate scribendi sensim efformatos esse characteres Judaicos, qui nunc sunt in usu. --- Ex multiplici sacrorum librorum de-*

scriptione, & ex quotidiano usu scribendi factum est, ut veteres characteres, qui plerumque non uno aut altero calami ductu constant, ad simpliciore[m] redigi formam cæpti sint --- quemadmodum posteriores Judæi ex QUADRATIS litteris characteres, quos RABBINICOS vocamus, effecerunt. De antiq. litteris Hebræor. p. 6, 25, 26. Having thus fully consider'd the repeated objection of Mr. Collins, as to the Samar. and the Heb. alphabetical characters; I proceed now to those few objections of his, which still remain to be consider'd.

Pag. 205. We have here an argument, or rather an authority, which is to *derogate still further* from the Samar. Pentateuch; and it is the well-known testimony of *Photius*, concerning the testimony of *Eulogius*, with respect to *Dositheus*. But as the answer to this *bear-say* testimony is also well-known; 'tis pity, that Mr. Collins should urge the one, without taking the least notice of the other: especially, as he had certainly read one of the authors, who has answer'd it very fully. The objection is this --- *that Photius says, that Eulogius said (about the end of the 6th century) that Dositheus adulterated the Octateuch of Moses with many corruptions.* And this assertion of Eulogius, thus asserted by Photius, must

must (it seems) be true; because it has been countenanc'd by A. Bp Usher. But the learned and judicious *Du Pin* has satisfactorily confuted this, amongst other objections; and therefore I refer the reader to that excellent author: see his *Canon Scrip.* book 1, ch. 5. sec. 2.

Had Mr. Collins been now living, how would he have been disturb'd at a reference to this part of *Du Pin*'s work; foreseeing the detection, that would be made, of his wilful misrepresentation of it! And indeed, a misrepresentation more manifestly wilful, and more basely disingenuous, I never met with, than in p. 206; where Mr. Collins quotes him thus --- *It is not improbable, ACCORDING TO DU PIN, to suppose, that some modern Samaritan compil'd the Samar. Pentateuch out of the different copies &c.* Whereas *Du Pin*, so far from thinking it compil'd by any modern Samaritan, speaks of *this very opinion*, as what CANNOT BE MAINTAIN'D; and he confutes it most judiciously. And yet, such a stranger to shame as well as honesty is this Gentleman, that he refers again afterwards, in the very same page, to the very same *Du Pin*, as one from whom he had expressly borrow'd this, as being *Du Pin's own hypothesis!*

Pag.

Pag. 207. The argument here is --- that the Sam. Pentateuch is of no importance, *because Origen did not think it so*; and Origen is thought not to think it so, *because he did not express that, as well as the Heb. text, in his Hexapla and Octapla*: i. e. Origen is suppos'd to think it useless; because in his work, so crowded with the several Greek Versions, he did not insert *two copies* of the original text. But, was Mr. Collins sure, that Origen ever saw the Sam. Pentateuch? Perhaps the first Christian father, who examin'd it, was Eusebius; and he flourish'd almost an 100 years after Origen. In those very early days, this Pentateuch might be as uncommon amongst Christians, as *the Targum* upon the Prophets and Hagiographa was afterwards amongst *the Jews*: concerning which Elias Levita tells us --- *ante artem typographicam, non extabat nisi vel unum in tota provincia, vel ad summum duo exemplaria in uno climate.*

But should we admit, there might be several copies of it amongst Christians, in the days of Origen; yet even then, several reasons might be given, why it made no part of his Hexapla and Octapla. Where one reason will be sufficient, many are unnecessary; and the warmest friend of Mr. Collins will allow, that

that Origen could not well insert the Samaritan text, if he did not understand it. The learned Huetius, in his *Origeniana* (lib. 2, c. 1) describes Origen, as being *Samaritanæ linguæ penitus ignarus*. And, in proof of the last article, he produces the following words of Origen (upon Ezek. 9, 4; *signa Thau super frontes &c.*) Εβραῖοι δὲ τις ελεγε, τα αρχαια στοιχεια εμφερει εχειν το Ταυ τω του σφυρς χαρακτηρι. On which he remarks first --- *Samaritarum elementa appellat αρχαια στοιχεια, quod iis Ebraei uterentur priscis temporibus*. And then he concludes --- *eorum* (Samar. element.) *si notitiam aliquam comparasset Origines, Thau Samaritani formam AB EBRÆO ILLO accepisse se non dixisset, quam cognitam EX SE habuisset & perspectam*.

If it could be suppos'd, that Origen's referring to a Jew, for his authority in this case, does not prove Origen himself to be unacquainted with the Samar. character; if this were at all probable, and the preceding answer to Mr. Collins's objection should be therefore thought unsatisfactory: I must observe farther, that possibly the objection is founded upon a *false fact*. Mr. Collins asserts, that the Samar. Pentateuch was wholly omitted by Origen, who gave the Heb. text in the vulgar

gar Jewish character; and that Origen does not appear to have us'd the Samar. Pentateuch in his notes on the Hexapla, towards settling the text in any respect. The only author, referr'd to upon this article, is Montfaucon; in his *Prelim. Dissertation* before Origen's Hexapla: and surely, a more unlucky reference cannot easily be imagin'd. For Montfaucon, in that very *Prelim. Dissertation* thus referr'd to, expressly gives it as his opinion --- that Origen did insert into the margin of his Hexapla the variations of the Samar. from the Heb. text. His words are these --- *In Hexaplis amplos fuisse margines notis Origenianis onustos, comperit nobis est.* --- SAMARITANI & Syri lectiones in marginibus vetustissimorum exemplarium, quæ Hexaplorum fragmenta exhibent, persæpe observantur. --- Cum autem illæ SAMARITANI lectiones, non in vetustis codicibus tantum, sed etiam apud Patres quarti, quinti & sequentium sæculorum occurrant; probabile sane videtur, ipsum ORIGINEM lectiones illas SAMARITANI in margine Hexaplorum posuisse. --- Nota est quædam in Num. 13, 1; quæ, ut arbitror, ORIGINIS est: ubi cum quædam præferret SAMARITANUS Bibliorum textus ex Deuteronomio desumpta, eadem ipsa se Græce transtulisse testificatur ORIGENES --- Α καὶ αὐτὰ ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Σα-
μαριτῶν

παρῆται Εβραῖς μετεβαλλόμεν. *Non hic agitur de Samar. aliqua translatione, sed de ipso textu Bibliorum Samaritano.* Pag. 18, 19.

We see then, that Mr. Collins is effectually confuted, upon either state of this article. If (as *Huetius* thinks) Origen *could not read* the Samar. Pentateuch; he could make no use of it, how highly soever he might esteem it. If (as *Montfaucon* thinks) he *could read* it, and actually inserted its variations; it is inconsistent with any pretensions to fairness --- for Mr. Collins to affirm, that Origen made not the least use of it, in text or margin, *in any respect*; and gravely to refer to Montfaucon, as his authority!

Pag. 208. And now Mr. Collins thinks, *he may venture to conclude* --- that *there is not the least ground to date the Samar. Pentateuch so high as the times of Jeroboam: against which (he thinks) he has given several demonstrative arguments.* But, in opposition to these, he has himself (as we have seen) unfortunately furnish'd other arguments equally demonstrative; and, in demonstrating both sides of the question, he has really demonstrated neither. The whole of his invective against this Pentateuch is clos'd with the following profound reflection --- *to say nothing of the absurdity, in pre-*

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tending to have a MS of a book, whereof it will be difficult to find one of above 600 or 700 years old. But, where this gross absurdity lies, in pretending to have what is allow'd possible to be found, is to me inconceivable; and must, I presume, be consider'd as (*e secretioribus arcanis*) one of those truths to be explain'd in brighter times, and reserv'd (as the Jews express it) till the coming of Elias. With this mystery of Mr. Collins I take my leave of that eminent deistical writer; who has express'd the most bitter zeal against CHRISTIANITY: and no wonder, as being notoriously defective in *veracity*, and consequently in *moral-honesty*. And I here release the reader from any farther attention to his fruitless, tho' fierce, attack upon the venerable copy of THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

I shall conclude the present defence of this Pentateuch with the few following observations. It is by no means here intended to recommend the adoption of the Samaritan, in the place of the Hebrew Pentateuch; or so to establish the pretensions of the former, as to exclude the latter. One ancient copy has been receiv'd from the Jews; and we are truly thankful for it. Another ancient copy is offer'd

fer'd by the Samaritans ; let us thankfully accept That likewise. Both have been often transcrib'd ; both therefore may contain errors. They differ in many instances ; therefore the errors must be many. Let the two parties be heard, without prejudice ; let their evidences be weigh'd, with impartiality ; and let the genuine words of Moses be ascertain'd by their joint assistance. Let the variations of all the MSS, on each side, be carefully collected ; and then critically examin'd by the context, and the ancient versions. If the Samar. copy shall be found, in some places, to correct the Hebrew ; yet will the Heb. copy, in other places, correct the Samaritan. *Each copy* therefore is invaluable. *Each copy* therefore demands our pious veneration and attentive study. And I am firmly persuaded, that the Pentateuch will never be understood perfectly ; till we admit the authority of BOTH.

HAVING

CHAPTER II;

on

THE CHALDEE PARAPHRASE.

HAVING thus concluded what was propos'd, under the first article, relative to the Samar. Pentateuch; having vindicated it against the charge of being wilfully corrupted, in the case of Gerizim and Ebal; and defended it, at large, against the objections of Mr. Collins: we may now proceed to the second article propos'd --- *the just authority of the printed Chaldee Paraphrase*. As there have appear'd, in the Chald. language, different paraphrases upon different parts of the old Testament; it may be necessary to premise here, that by *the Chaldee paraphrase* spoken of in this chapter is meant *that particular paraphrase (or that collection of paraphrases) continued thro' most of the books of the old Testament, publish'd in the London Polyglott*; without pretending to ascertain *the name* of any one author, or to fix *the antiquity* of any one part of that paraphrase.

The point then before us, at present, is *the just authority of the Chald. paraphrase thus printed*

printed --- Whether the printed Heb. Text can fairly derive from thence that evidence for its Integrity, which has been frequently allow'd, and claim'd for it, by writers upon this subject. And the argument here must stand thus --- If the present Chald. paraphrase certainly was taken from *very ancient Heb. MSS.*; and has been deliver'd down *entirely, or almost entirely, uncorrupted*: then its present agreement in general with the printed Heb. copies will furnish a strong presumption of *the general agreement of the printed Heb. copies with very ancient Heb. MSS.* But, on the contrary --- If the present Chald. paraphrase may have been taken from MSS not so very ancient; and if it certainly has not been deliver'd down perfect, or nearly so; but greatly vitiated by time, and containing numerous mistakes of transcribers: and especially, if it should appear, that it has been, in several places, *alter'd wilfully*, in conformity to the Heb. text, where that text itself had been before corrupted: then will the Learned certainly allow, that *the present agreement of that paraphrase with the present Heb. text can be no proof of the Integrity of either.*

The authority of this paraphrase having been improperly magnified, upon the notion
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of its being *most carefully and exactly* deliver'd down; I presume, it will be of considerable consequence to undeceive the Reader upon this point. And in order to this, I shall here produce the opinions of those authors, who seem to have studied this paraphrase most attentively; subjoining some remarks of my own, particularly on the *written* copies of it.

As to the *exact* age of the Chald. paraphrase; we may safely affirm *that* to be uncertain. Some learned men have suppos'd, that such paraphrases were in use amongst the Jews soon after the captivity, or long before the time of Christ; but scarce any one pretends, that paraphrases of such very high antiquity are now in being. On the contrary, it has been remark'd by other learned men, as a strong presumption against the antiquity of these Targums --- that no kind of Chald. paraphrase is so much as mention'd by Origen, Jerom, Epiphanius, or any early Christian writer. * Walton tells us --- *Apud omnes ec-*

* *Ex his cognoscere est, quam parum certa sint ea, quæ de scriptoribus Targumim afferunt Judæi: primo enim qui fuerint Onkelos & Jonathan, quæ ætate vixerint, compertum non habetur. De illorum antiquitate etiam disputant Christiani; dum alii, dubi potissimum Judæorum testimoniis, illorum paraphrases circa tempora Christi confectas fuisse existimant; alii vera has Origine atque Hieronymo posteriores esse affirmant, quod hi illarum nusquam meminerint. Simon. de var. edit. Bibl. cap. 13.*

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clesiæ patres, qui Hebraice doctissimi, & Judæorum monumenta optime norant, altum est de his Chaldaicis paraphrasibus silentium. --- *Affirmat Elias, diversas a diversis scriptas fuisse paraphrases; ex quibus tantum eæ, quæ supra recensentur, reliquæ sunt: cæteris deperditis vel posthabitis, quarum fragmenta tantum habemus. Quod etiam inde confirmant, quod varia citantur a veteribus (Rabbinis) ex Targum Job, Ruth, Amosi &c. quæ in hodiernis non habentur. --- In Targum nostro in Jobum, Psalmos &c. quædam variis locis ex alio Targum recitantur: ut ex locis supra notatis liquet.*¹ Bootius acknowledges thus² ---- *Chaldaicarum paraphrasewn exemplaria tantopere inter se variant, ut integrum de ea re volumen, sub nomine BABYLONIÆ, conscribere constituerit Buxtorfius pater.*³ Leusden, in his remarks upon the Targums, has the following sentences --- *Nonnullæ paraphrases sunt deperditæ ante Christum, & subsequentibus aliquot sæculis --- Ut ut sit, saltem*

¹ Prolegom. 12; 15, 8, 12.

² Vindiciæ pro Heb. veritate, pag. 28.

³ The following is Buxtorf's own account of this paraphrase, as express'd in the title page of his edition of the Heb. Bible, 1620 — *Textus Chaldaicus, a deformitate punctuationis, & pravitate vocum innumerarum, vindicatus; loca, in Masora transposita, deficientia, pugnancia, numeris depravata, subsidio diversorum exemplarium & concordantiarum Hebraicarum (quantum fieri potuit) reposita, restituta & conciliata.*

*paraphrases quædam temporibus Christi & Apostolorum extiterunt : sed, an quædam ex hodiernis sint illæ antiquæ, non potest demonstrative probari --- Sunt Targumi Onkelos variæ editiones, quæ multum ab invicem differunt : & expresse dicit Maimonides, de Onkelosi paraphrasi; Corrupta & depravata est in exemplaribus nostris hæc expositio sine controversia &c. --- Chaldaicarum paraphrasium corruptionem etiam videtur probare CREBERRIMA LECTIONIS VARIETAS, quæ inter diversas editiones, etiam ejusdem Targumi, intercedit. Quoties enim Regium exemplar differt a Veneto; quoties Basiliense ab utroque? prout ex INNUMERIS locis, cuilibet varias editiones conferenti, manifestum fiet. The learned T. Smith, who publish'd a small volume, call'd *Diatriba de Chaldaicis Paraphrastis*, has the following sentences, in his 6th chapter --- *In his paraphrasibus magna apparet varietas; non tantum literis, sed etiam dictionibus, ac sententiis integris, differentibus. Causam subodoratus est Elias; * qui inquit ---*
" Proculdubio nisi venissent Masorethæ, facta
" fuisset lex quasi leges duæ; nec essent bini co-
" dices, in tota scriptura, sibi invicem consen-
*" tientes: sicut accidit libris aliorum auctorum.**

* Ab Elia Levita quicquid Chaldaicæ literaturæ nunc conspicitur derivatum est. Morin. de Heb. text. sincer. p. 119.

“Nonne vides, quot varietates ac mutationes
 “reperiantur in Targum Onkeli; quamvis in
 “illud Targum Onkeli scripta fuit Masora?
 “De Targum Jonathanis scribitur Masora,
 “quam non vidi. At nemo fuit, qui de Targu-
 “mim in Prophetas & Hagiographa suum os
 “aperuit, vel mustitari olim ausus fuit; nemo
 “inquisivit, & indagavit: sed omnes dixerunt,
 “Hoc reservabitur ad usque tempora Eliæ.”
 Omnibus perpensis, nemo mirabitur tot errata in
 his paraphrasibus reperiri; quod olim ingenue
 agnovit doctissimus Maimonides.

It must be remark'd here --- that, strong as
 these several testimonies are, in derogation of
 the honours paid to the present Chald. para-
 phrase; they will certainly have the greater
 weight, as coming from *warm friends*: being,
 in fact, unfavourable concessions extorted by
 the force of truth from those, who meant the
 honour, and would fain have supported the
 authority, of this very paraphrase. And to
 the preceding I shall now add another witness
 equally unexceptionable; one, whose testimo-
 ny upon this matter is very particular and ex-
 press: and it is the testimony of the learned
 FRANCIS RAPHELENGIUS. This author
 printed the Chald. paraphrase in 1572; and
 the very corrupt state of the ancient Chald.

MSS will fully appear from his account of them, at the end of the 7th vol. of the Antwerp Polyglott: which account is so intimately connected with the present design, that I shall give it almost at full length. There are two things, which the reader is desir'd to remember, as he peruses the following quotation. First --- that the *Chald.* and *Heb.* MSS were transcrib'd by the same set of men; who, if they were *criminally careless* in transcribing the *former*, can hardly be presum'd to have been (whatever they may pretend) *most religiously exact* in transcribing the *latter*: especially as Walton assures us (Prolegom. 12, 16) *apud Judæos, paraphrases Chaldaicæ æqualem habent cum textu Hebræo auctoritatem.* And secondly --- that *the character*, in which these *Chald.* and *Heb.* MSS have been deliver'd down, has been nearly *the same*: and therefore the mistakes, which *have* in fact happen'd, *on account of the character*, in the *Chald.* MSS, *may have* happen'd, on the same account, in the *Heb.* MSS.

Chaldaicam Paraphrasin cum, ob librariorum imperitiam, plerisque in locis fæde corruptam esse videremus; summo studio enitendum esse duximus, ut eam integram exhiberemus. --- Punctatio falsa

falso literis fuit applicata. -- Porro longe gravior huic paraphrasi calamitas accidit. Cum enim illa a paucis admodum tractaretur, imo vero cum crassis quibusdam tenebris misere obvoluta jaceret; tantam contraxit rubiginem, ut non modo pristino suo splendore carere videretur, verum etiam quodam veluti luctu & squalore plane deformis conspiceretur. Id quod multis de causis evenit. In primis tanta fuit librariorum inscitia; ut cum tanquam ignotam linguam ex intricatis & obscuris manuscriptis describerent, aliam literam pro alia nonnunquam surrogarent. Deinde ob illam concisam scribendi consuetudinem, qua duntaxat primas literas exprimebant, relicto tantum apice lateri dictionis concisæ ascripto (qui dictionem non esse integram indicabat) orta est tanta confusio, ut librarii plane insulsi & imperiti, nulla habita ratione constructionis verborum, sæpius addiderint & diminuerint; & hoc pacto infinita loca depravarint. Non minus periculum peperit illa literarum in unam connexio, qua ubique Jod in vicinæ literæ ventre pingitur; ita ut sæpe unam literam pro duabus expresserint: quæ res effecit, ut ea loca in alium sensum detorquerentur. Cui etiam accedit magna literarum affinitas, quæ incredibile non solum huic linguæ, sed & cæteris omnibus, detrimentum attulit. Porro literas ejusdem or-

gani, ob similitudinem soni, librarii alias pro aliis, infinitis pene in locis, scripserunt. Est & alia ratio; quæ sciscitantibus, cur in his paraphrastis tanta deprehendatur lectionum varietas, proponenda est: eaque est Thargumistarum numerus, quorum omnium interpretationes (Thargumin) ad manus nostras nondum pervenerunt. Nam cum, infinitis in locis, dictiones plane inter se dissimiles, eodem tamen sensu remanente, reperias: credibile est, eas ex aliis Thargumin esse transfusas; vel a sciolis, cum scriptura esset intricatior, substitutas. His accedit, multas literas e loco suo esse translatas: adeo ut quæ prius, eæ posterius; quæ autem posterius, eæ prius adscriptæ sint; qua ex re non minimum & obscuritatis manavit ac depravationis. Postremo, ob nimiam librariorum festinationem, synonyma alia in aliorum sint substituta locum. Quamobrem, cum nobis fuerit propositum, ut ei corruptelæ, quantum in nobis esset, remedium afferremus; correctissima ad eam rem exemplaria elegimus: nempe in Pentateuchum, editionem Complutensem; in priores prophetas, Esther, Job, Psalmos, & Ecclesiasten, Andreæ Masii; atque in posteriores prophetas, Ariæ Montani exemplar manuscriptum. Proverbia vero, Cantica, & Tbreni, quia ex Complutensi Bibliotheca, nisi Biblicorum editione jam absoluta, haberi non potuerunt;

tuerunt ; exemplar Venetiis excusum, idque satis corruptum, nobis imitandum proposuimus. Quos quidem libros, maximo labore & incredibili patientia ad Complutense manuscriptum collatos, Fr. Fontanus, Heb. & Chald. linguæ professor Compluti, ad nos transmissit.

This then is the manner, in which this author, after particular examination, represents the various corruptions in the Chald. MSS. It must be added; that he gives *three pages in folio* (three columns in a page) full of whole verses, and parts of verses ; which he had rejected, as being *Interpolations*. And now, let us attend to the consequence of this information.

In *Josh. 22, 34*, we read ; *And the children of Reuben, and the children of Gad, called the altar for it shall be a witness between us, that the Lord is God.* On this verse I observ'd in my Dissertation, pag. 444 --- that, as the word עֵד (*witness*) was probably *twice* in the original Heb. copy ; so Kimchi (who lived above 550 years since) quoted it, as being *twice* in the Chald. paraphrase : and yet the printed Chald. copy is, in most editions, conformable to the corrupted Hebrew, having it once only. Now tho' עֵד (*witness*) be twice
in

in the Antwerp Polyglott, from the Chald. MS of Mafius; yet Raphelengius says ---- *prius* כה"ד *videtur redundare*. But as the word seems to be *twice* absolutely necessary; how could this author possibly think it, in the first instance, *redundant*; unless, *because he found it not in the Hebrew?* And if he believ'd the *Integrity of the printed Heb. text*; doubtless (in his edition of the Chald. paraphrase) out of two, or more, various readings *he always chose that*, which agreed best with the printed Hebrew.

So that here, we may fairly presume, is discover'd one great cause of the very remarkable agreement of the printed Heb. and Chald. copies. And 'tis extreamly probable, (since this was the strong prejudice of the times) that Felix Pratensis, and every other editor of the most early-printed Chald. copies, were tinctur'd with the very same prejudice. It cannot be denied, that Buxtorf was an advocate for the Integrity of the Heb. text; and therefore, whatever alterations were made by *him* (in *his* edition of this paraphrase) undoubtedly promoted a still greater harmony. And we are told by the learned orientalist S. Clark, in the supplement to the Eng. Polyglott --- *Varia fuerunt Targum exemplaria, ea-*
que

que plurimum inter se diversa --- & Buxtorfius innumeris, quibus antea fœdata est, corruptelis vindicavit. And lastly, from this edition of Buxtorf was taken the copy in the Eng. Polyglott. So that from the preceding short history of the Chald. paraphrase, the Reader may safely infer --- whether the agreement of *the printed Chaldee* with *the printed Hebrew* can be any proper proof of the Integrity of either.

To the preceding observations of other authors I shall now subjoin one observation, resulting from my own enquiries. And it is an observation, which fixes upon the later MSS, and the early-printed copies, of the Chald. paraphrase the following charge --- that *they have been designedly alter'd, in compliment to the (before corrupted) copies of the Heb. text*: or, in other words --- that *alterations have been made wilfully in the Chald. paraphrase, to render that paraphrase, in some places, conformable to the words of the Heb. text; where those Heb. words were suppos'd to be right, but had been themselves corrupted.*

Whoever has attentively compar'd our printed Heb. text with our printed Chald. paraphrase; and has frequently found them to agree in places, which many reasons concurr'd,

curr'd to prove corrupted; must have *presum'd* --- that the Chaldee has been corrupted, in conformity to the corrupted Hebrew. And indeed, nothing could seem wanting to establish this presumption, but *the actual discovery of a few such readings* (as differ'd from the printed, and were also the very readings suppos'd to have obtain'd originally) *in the Chald. MSS.* I can now acquaint the Reader with the actual existence of such variations --- that there are, in the few Chald. MSS I have had opportunity to examine, *several such instances*: in which the readings are manifestly true; tho' different from those, which are printed, in compliment to the corrupted Hebrew.

And here, let us first recall the instance of *Josb. 22, 34.* Will not every ingenuous man own (what every man of sense must see) the necessity of re-inserting the word עֵד (*witness*) as *the name of the altar* there mention'd? 'Tis a known custom of the sacred writers, first to mention the names of *men, places, or things*; and then to subjoin the reasons, on which such names are founded. And so here, the Heb. text (we may presume) originally declar'd ---- that *the Reubenites and Gadites called the altar WITNESS; for (they said) it shall*

shall be a witness between us &c. I have already remark'd, that this *name* is acknowledg'd by the Syr. Arab. and Vulg. versions. And it shall be here only noted farther, as to the Heb. copy --- that in Bomberg's first edition there is (in the place of this word) the little circle o call'd *piska*, denoting some *defect*; that the word ער is printed in the margin of that edition, as it is also in the margin by Plantin; and that it is inserted in our Eng. version. But then, how comes the Chald. paraphrase to agree with the Heb. text, in so very strange an omission? If this word be genuine, the paraphrase could not want it always; unless the omission of it in the Heb. text was very ancient. It must be observ'd: that, in Bomberg's old edition, tho' this word be only in the margin of the Heb. text; and not at all in the Chald. paraphrase, in the adjoining column; yet in the comment of Kimchi (printed at the bottom of the page) the word is found in the former as well as latter part of the sentence; and that *twice*, in the following manner ---- קראו למזבח עד כי עד הוא בינותינו --- וקרו בני נד ובני ראובן סהיד למדבחה ארי סהיד הוא בינא --- where the first sentence seems meant for the Heb. text, and the second for the Chald. commentary.

Certainly Kimchi would not have inserted the word ער *twice*, and also the word סהיד *twice*, without the authority of some good MSS or MS. And Raphelengius himself allows, it was also *twice* in the MS of Mafius. To which authorities I can now add that of a Chald. MS (in large 4°.) the only Chald. MS of *Joshua*, which I have yet had the good fortune to meet with. It is preserv'd in the Bodleian library, catalogued N°. 467; and the verse before us is express'd regularly, in this MS, in the following manner ---

וקרו בני ראובן ובני נד סהיד למדבחה ארי
סהיד הוא בינתנא ארי " הוא אלהים :

Another instance, equally satisfactory, occurs in Gen. 25, 8 --- *Abraham died in a good old age; an old man, and full and was gathered to his people.* Men, vers'd in Scripture language, know the customary phrase to be --- *old and full of days*; as 'tis said of Isaac, Job, and David. And they will therefore presume, that the word for *days* (not *years*, as 'tis wrongly inserted in our Eng. translation) has been carelessly omitted in the Heb. copy: especially, as that word is express in the Samar. text and all the ancient versions, excepting only the Chald. paraphrase. There
are

are indeed some printed copies of that paraphrase, which have preserv'd this word; agreeably to the MSS, from which they were printed (which MSS had not been in this instance assimilated to the late Heb. copies:) and the word יָמִין *dies* is now found, regularly express'd, in the Targum of the *Complutensian* and *Antwerp* Polyglotts. This word is also preserv'd in the Chald. verse of an Heb. and Chald. MS of the Pentateuch, in the Bodleian library, catalogued N°. 5233; and 'tis inserted also in the margin of the Chald. verse, in another Bodleian MS, N°. 5349. Lastly; there is in the British Museum (catalogued, *Harl.* N°. 5520) a copy of the Targum, in which this word is found, inserted regularly --- וְשֶׁבַע יָמִין & *plenus dierum*.

A third instance, which I have observ'd, is in *Exod.* 31, 8 --- *And the table and his furniture, and the pure candlestick with ALL his furniture &c.* 'Tis observable here, that the Samar. text has the word כָּל (*all*) express'd in the first, as well as the second part of this verse; in which that text is strongly supported by the Samar. Gr. Syr. and Arab. versions: authorities, sufficient to convince us of the truth of this reading, in which they so re-

markably agree. But to these I have now to add the authorities of two very valuable MSS preserv'd in the British Museum: one of the *Heb. text*, catalogued *Harl. 5706*; and the other of this *Chald. paraphrase*, catalogued *Harl. 5520*. The Heb. MS not only has the very word, which is omitted in the printed copy and in other MSS; but also shews the reason of its being so omitted; having the words of this verse in the following order ---

וַאֲתָהּ שִׁלַּחַן וַאֲתָהּ כָּל

כָּלִי וַאֲתָהּ הַמִּנְרָה הַטָּה

הַטָּהֳרָה וַאֲתָהּ כָּל כָּלִיהָ

We must note here, that the custom of the Jewish transcribers is to fill their line; and, if the line does not conclude with a compleat word, to insert one, two, or more of the letters, which begin the word following: which letters are again express'd, and the whole word given at the beginning of the next line. Such being the case; we may presume this manner of writing to have been the cause of many a corruption in the Heb. text: and that, upon two accounts. For where a line has ended with two or more letters, as part of the word which begins the line following; such letters may happen to constitute a regular word of themselves: and therefore, tho' such

such letters may have been meant originally for a distinct word, they may have been omitted under the notion of their being only *the initial letters of the word following*. On the contrary: such letters may have been taken for a word improperly; and consequently, a word may have been introduc'd, where a word was not written originally. As for example; the second of the preceding three lines ends with הטה, which are the initials of הטהרה in the line following, and have been properly so consider'd. But in the first line, the word כל *omnis* (tho' supported here by the Samar. Gr. Syr. and Arab. authorities) has been expell'd the text, because the next line happens to begin with the same letters. And here also the same complaisance has been shown to the corrupted Hebrew by the transcribers of the Chald. paraphrase; who have omitted the word כל in the first instance, because omitted in the Hebrew --- excepting the copy of the Targum last referr'd to, in the British Museum. For that MS has faithfully preserv'd the original word; reading וית פתורא וית כל מנורי & *mensam & omnia vasa ejus*.

Whenever the Chald. MSS shall be fully examin'd; there will be then abundant conviction,

viction, that letters have been *inserted, omitted, thrust in, blotted out, eras'd*, in a variety of places; in order that such places might become more conformable to the Heb. text: especially in MSS, which have such text and paraphrase rang'd in parallel columns, with verse opposite to verse; or where the Heb. and Chald. verses succeed each other alternately, as they do in several MSS of the Pentateuch. Thus in the Bodleian MS, N°. 5233, at *Exod.* 20, 11 --- the Heb. (tho' printed אֶת הַיָּם) being written וְאֶת הַיָּם; the Chaldee (tho' printed יֵת יָמָא) is written וֵית יָמָא, in agreement with it. And as Onkelos could not here write both יֵת, and וֵית; either the former or the latter has been corrupted, in compliment to the Heb. text: perhaps the Heb. MS is right here, being confirm'd by the Sam. Gr. Syr. Arab. and Vulg. versions.

Again; at *Deut.* 5, 8 --- the Heb. (tho' printed כָּל פֶּסֶל) being in this same MS כָּל פֶּסֶל וְכָל; the Chaldee (tho' printed like the printed Hebrew) is in this MS made like the written Hebrew, reading כָּל וְכָל. So again; in this chapter, verses 18, 19, 20 and 21, begin in this same Heb. MS with לֹא, and consequently its Chald. paraphrase begins the same: yet the printed Hebrew has the conjunction

(1) prefix'd; and of course the printed Chaldee has it likewise --- that paraphrase being assimilated to that Heb. copy in all these instances. And this; notwithstanding the Samar. text, and the Samar. Gr. and Syr. versions agree against the printed Heb. reading; and tho' the Heb. text itself, in *Exodus*, agrees with those authorities here, to prove it corrupted in these several instances.

Thus also in the Bodleian MS, N°. 1262; at *Deut.* 5, 8 --- the words in the Heb. part of this MS are פסל וכל; and, of course in the Chald. verse (which follows it) צלם וכל: tho' the printed Heb. reads פסל כל; and the printed Chaldee, faithful in its complaisance, drops the conjunction also. And this; tho' the Samar. text and the versions *here in Deut.* have this conjunction --- tho' *five* Heb. MSS of this chapter authorize this conjunction --- and tho' this conjunction now stands in the Heb. text itself (confirm'd by the Samar. text and by all the versions and MSS) in the parallel chapter of *Exodus*.

This spirit of conformity, so predominant in the transcribers of the Chald. paraphrase, is farther visible in *Exod.* 20, 17 --- where, tho' the *printed* Heb. text (in opposition to the

the Samar. text here, and to that as well as the Heb. text itself in *Deut.*) reads רַעַךְ לֹא תַחֲמֹר; and tho' the *printed* Chald. paraphrase has (of course) *dropp'd* the conjunction also; yet the MS last-mention'd was written at first, both in its text and (consequently) in its paraphrase, *with* the conjunction. And I say, *at first*; because some zealous *corrupter* has (with the pen of *castigation* or *correction*, very falsely so call'd) *dagger'd* this genuine letter ך; and struck it out as spurious both in the Heb. text, and also in its Chald. paraphrase.

In this same chapter, at ver. 4. the Chald. MS (Brit. Mus. *Harl.* N°. 5520) reads צֶלֶם כָּל. But the Chaldee is printed צֶלֶם וְכָל, agreeably to the printed Heb. In ver. 17, this MS reads --- חֲבֵרֶךְ וְלֹא תַחֲמִיד; where the printed Chaldee reads without the ך, as does the printed Hebrew. And thus, in *Deut.* 5, 18, this same MS reads לֹא תִגּוֹף; where the printed Chaldee and printed Hebrew read with the ך before לֹא.

In 2 *Sam.* 22, 8, an Heb. MS (Brit. Mus. *Harl.* N°. 1861) read וּמוֹסְדוֹת, agreeably to which the Chald. paraphrase in this MS reads וּשְׂכָלוֹי: whereas both the printed Hebrew and printed Chaldee are without the prefix'd conjunction.

In

In the British Museum there is a curious Heb. MS, catalogued *Harl.* 5709, which reads --- כל עדת בני ישראל, in *Exod.* 12, 3; and it is supported (in reading the word בני *fili*) by the Samar. text, and the Samar. Gr. Syr. Arab. and Vulg. versions. In this MS the Chald. paraphrase, plac'd opposite to the Heb. text, has the word likewise; reading --- כנישתא דבני ישראל. And yet, in the printed copies; because the word בני (tho' thus fortified with authorities) is dropp'd in the Heb. text, it is dropp'd also in the Chald. paraphrase. Notwithstanding which, tho' דבני be not in the printed Chaldee; *the printed Lat. version* of the printed Chaldee wonderfully reads *filiorum*!

This same MS, in *Exod.* 10, 18, reads --- ויצא משה מעם ונפק משה מן. agreeably to the Gr. Syr. and Lat. versions. And the Chaldee of this MS reads accordingly --- ונפק משה מן. But in the printed copies; the word משה (*Moses*) not being in the Heb. is not in the Chaldee.

This same MS, in *Deut.* 6, 12, reads אלהיך after יהוה; agreeably to the Samar. text, and the Samar. Gr. Syr. and Ar. versions; agreeably also to the sense of this verse and the following. And the Chaldee of this MS reads

Z

accord-

accordingly ד" אלהך. But in the printed copies; the word, being not in the Hebrew, is not in the Chaldee. Thus again, in the next verse, this MS reads --- תעבד ובו תרבק ובשמו --- as does the Gr. version, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν καλλήσῃσιν &c. The Chaldee of this MSS reads, uniformly with its Hebrew, וברחלתיה תתקרב. But these additional words are neither in the printed Hebrew, nor printed Chaldee.

In *Prov.* 15, 20, the printed Heb. text stands thus --- בן חכם ישמח אב וכסיל אדם בוזה אמו : *A wise son maketh a glad father ; but a foolish MAN despiseth his mother.* But the Greek (and so the Syriac) version seems to have preserv'd the genuine reading --- τὸς σοφὸς εὐφραίνει πατέρα, τὸς δὲ ἀφρων μὴ αἰσθάνεται μητέρα αὐτοῦ. 'Tis very remarkable, that this various reading of the Gr. and Syr. versions is confirm'd even by the printed Chaldee; which, in opposition to the Hebrew, reads ברא חכימא יחד' לאבוי וברא כסלא משיט אמירא. But then, on the other hand; *the printed Lat. version* of the Chaldee, in this very place, is amazingly assimilated to the printed Hebrew: for it reads *Filius sapiens* --- & *stultus homo*! This variation of the Gr. and Syr. versions, thus oddly confirm'd by the Chaldee, is confirm'd still more strongly by

by an HEB. MS in the public library at Cambridge (catalogued E, e, 5, 9) which reads
 וְבֵן בְּסִיל בּוֹזָה אָמוֹ *FILIUS stultus &c.*

I shall close this subject with one other signal instance, to prove the occasional conformity of the printed Chald. paraphrase. We read now in *Prov. 18, 22* --- מֵצָא אִשָּׁה מֵצָא
 ; טוֹב וְיִפְקֹ רָצוֹן מִיְהוָה *Whoso findeth a wife, findeth a good thing; and obtaineth favour from the Lord.* But, can it be truly said, that every wife is a blessing? Could an universal maxim, of this nature, proceed from the wisest of men? Could such a proverb possibly be deliver'd by him; who represents the evil and the foolish woman as a curse --- by him; who says, that the contentions of a wife are a continual dropping; and she, that maketh ashamed, is as rottenness in her husband's bones --- by him; who (to enforce it with particular emphasis) assures us in two separate proverbs, that it is better to dwell in the wilderness, than with a contentious and angry woman. And, as he is thus satyrical upon vice and folly; so is he equally just, as an encomiast, upon virtue and real excellence. *A VIRTUOUS woman* (says he) *is a crown to her husband --- Her price is far above rubies --- Favour is deceitful,*

and beauty is vain; but a woman, that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised. Can such a writer then, who discriminates thus wisely between the merit of a good woman, and the demerit of the contrary; can *he* be suppos'd in this instance to have said --- he, who findeth *any wife*, findeth *a blessing*? Especially, when he so very cautiously confines this blessing, every where else, to a wife adorn'd with wisdom and virtue; and when he so expressly tells us, that only *a PRUDENT wife is from the Lord*. If the reader should not be already convinc'd of the necessity of thus distinguishing, in the case before us; he may refer to the 25th and 26th chapters of *Ecclus*: where the excellencies, that render a wife truly amiable and justly eligible, are beautifully display'd; as also those miseries, which attend a connexion with one of an opposite character.

'Tis presum'd therefore, that Solomon in the text before us express'd himself thus, *He, that findeth a GOOD wife, findeth a good thing; and obtaineth favour from the Lord: מְצָא אִשָּׁה* &c. *טובה מצא טוב* This reading derives a strong confirmation from observing, that the epithet for *good* is found uniformly in the Gr. Syr. Ar. and Vulg. versions. But then, being found in all these versions, and being so manifestly

nifestly wanting in the original ; how comes it to be wanting also in the printed Chaldee ? I had long since noted this, as one clear instance (amongst others) wherein the Chaldee has been wilfully alter'd, to render it more uniform with the Hebrew, which had been antecedently corrupted. And I took it for granted, that if ever a MS copy of this paraphrase should fall under my examination ; I should find this very word, tho' dropt in the printed copy. It gave me therefore singular pleasure, to discover lately in the public library at Cambridge a MS, which contains the Chald. paraphrase on *the Psalms, Job, Chron.* and on *the book of Proverbs*. And the curious reader will suppose, it afforded no small satisfaction, to find in this MS THE VERY WORD, so long presum'd to be genuine --- so long thought to have been dropp'd designedly by some *correcter* of this paraphrase, in compliment to the corrupted original. The reading then in this MS (the same MS with that referr'd to in the preceding article.) is as follows --- דַּמְשַׁכָּה אֵתָה טַבְתָּה מְשַׁכָּה טַבְתָּה
qui invenit uxorem bonam, invenit bonum.

For the more compleat confirmation of this concluding example, I must acquaint the Reader ; that, by the friendship of Mr. Sack,
 first

first Chaplain to His Majesty THE KING OF PRUSSIA, I have been favour'd with an account of the Heb. MSS in the Royal Library at Berlin. This account, which was taken by the learned Professor Murfinna, contains also answers to enquiries which I made, as to the reading of the Berlin MSS in a few instances. And as I requested, that the *Chald.* MS, there preserv'd, might be examin'd in this text of the *Proverbs*; the Professor assures me, that their Chald. MS contains *the very reading*, which I found in the Cambridge MS, as before-mention'd. And therefore, these two Chald. MSS, thus concurring, strongly confirm the general position of this chapter; and these MSS, together with all the ancient versions, and the necessary sense of the text itself, fully prove the original maxim here to have signified --- *He, that findeth a good wife, findeth a good thing; and obtaineth favour from the Lord.*

We have now seen, that the printed Chald. paraphrase has been greatly corrupted; and that it has been voluntarily render'd conformable, in many instances, to the modern Heb. Text. The inference from which truths must be --- that this boasted paraphrase cannot possibly

sibly be admitted a voucher for *the Integrity of that Text*, merely from its general agreement with it at present. From the several authorities before produc'd, the ancient Chald. MSS in general appear to have been in a condition somewhat similar to those of the book of Judith, mention'd by St. Jerom; who says --- *Liber Judith Chaldaeo sermone conscriptus est --- multorum codicum varietatem vitiosissimam amputavi; sola ea, quæ intelligentia integra in verbis Chaldaicis invenire potui, Latinis expressi.*

The conclusion therefore is: that the transcribers of these several Targums, having high notions of the perfection of the later copies of the Heb. Text, and thinking those Chald. readings to be wrong which differ'd from such Heb. copies, have wilfully augmented the various corruptions of their paraphrase; and this, under the notion of *correcting* it --- which alterations have been made in conformity to a Text much corrupted, tho' suppos'd by them to be perfect and entire.

This false notion of *the Integrity of the Heb. Text*, as it has thus misled the transcribers and correctors of the Chald. paraphrase, so has it been attended with other consequences equally to be lamented. And as it may be of moment,
to

to specify these other consequences ; so it may not be wrong to specify them in this place. The consequences, here meant, are --- the corruptions of the GREEK and LATIN versions ; introduc'd by those, who have improperly accommodated them to the modern Heb. Text.

As to the *Greek* : Walton complains thus (*prolegom.* 9, 33) --- *In editione Græca LXX, 8°. Lond. 1653; etsi profiteantur, qui editioni præfuerunt, se editionem Romanam excudere; nimiam tamen licentiam assumpserunt, eam prohibitu mutandi & interpolandi, ut ad HEBRÆUM textum & nuperas versiones accommodarent.* He brings the same accusation against the Greek version, in the famous Complutensian Polyglott. For (*prolegom.* 9, 28) he says, that it is --- *Omnium editionum, quæ impressæ sunt, maxime mixta & interpolata, & a genuina Sept. versione maxime distans; licet ad textum Hebræum proxime accedat. Nova enim & mixta est hæc versio --- ut textui HEBRÆO aptius responderet.* I shall not instance, at present, in any other copies of the *Greek* version ; which may also have been tortur'd into a conformity with the Heb. Text : but I shall proceed to a few remarks upon the *Latin* versions.

The celebrated *Rob. Stephens*, in the preface to his Latin Bible, curiously printed upon vellum (Paris 1540) has the following remarkable words; which may teach us to trust cautiously to the *Latin* version also, where that version now agrees with the *Heb. text*, in places probably corrupted. --- *Prodierant ante 8 annos Biblia nostra, magna fide ad antiquissimos codices Latinos excusa. Tum enim doctissimorum fuit consilium; ut ea lectio, quæ in vetustissimis illis exemplaribus inventa fuisset, si cum HEBRAICIS codicibus consentiret, excuderetur. --- Alii, non minoris eruditionis & judicii, admonuerunt ut rem temperaremus. In consilium igitur adhibui optimos nostrates theologos; quorum sententia fuit, ut antiquissimos codices excusos in exemplaria nobis proponeremus: ita tamen, ut quæ aliter in vetustissimis M^{tis} legerentur, & cum HEBRAICIS amice conspirarent, ea margo nostrorum Bibliorum sibi vendicaret. Horum sententiam secuti, varias lectiones, quæ tamen cum HEBRAICO contextu consentiebant, in margine excudendas curavimus. --- In delectu veterum lectionum, ad unguem secuti sumus CONTEXTUM HEBRAICUM.*

In the British Museum, there is an ancient Latin MS (*Harl. N^o. 2805*) in which two whole verses are left out, in compliment to the

corrupted Hebrew; which omits them by *Masoretic* authority, tho' they are most absolutely necessary: see the remarks in my *Dissertation* (page 440) on *Josh.* 21; 35, 36. These two verses are omitted in this MS, tho' preserv'd in other Latin MSS; and we find them also in the *printed* Latin copies.

With regard to the *Latin* version, I shall add one instance more; and it is an instance very worthy of our attention. It is contain'd in the 2 *Chron.* 13; 3, 17: which passage has appear'd to many very likely to be corrupted, because it contains numbers almost incredible. This passage, in its present state, acquaints us --- that *Abijah, King of Judah, set the battle in array with 400,000 CHOSEN men, against 800,000 CHOSEN men, under Jeroboam, king of Israel; and that, out of Israel only, there were slain in the battle 500,000!*

This surprising account was noted in my *Dissertation*, p. 532 &c. where I mention'd, as probable, the opinion of the learned Vignoles --- that the Heb. numbers may have been anciently express'd by marks, analogous to our common figures --- that several numbers in the old Testament seem greatly corrupted, and particularly thro' the addition or subtraction

tion of *a Cipber* --- and that the numbers of this very passage (instead of 400,000, and 800,000, and 500,000) were probably at first 40,000, and 80,000, and 50,000. I produc'd authorities to prove, that *the history of Josephus*, now containing the larger numbers, formerly had the less; and if so, then has *Josephus* also been alter'd, in conformity to the corrupted Hebrew. 'Tis confess'd, that the ancient versions, as printed in our Polyglott, agree with the present Heb. text. But --- may not the modern Hebrew be here corrupted? Might not the authors of the ancient versions have read differently? And may not the present harmony of *text* and *versions*, in this place, be the result of injudicious zeal, *correcting*, or rather *corrupting the latter*, in *compliment to the former*?

I have, on this occasion, made a particular examination of the Latin version. And to this I was led by observing --- that the number of the *chosen* men here slain, which the Vulgat, printed by Pope Clement in 1592, determines to be 500,000, the Vulgat of Pope Sixtus, printed two years before, determin'd to be only 50,000. And indeed the two preceding numbers are equally different, tho' not mark'd as such in James's *Bellum Papale*: the edition

of *Sixtus* reading 40,000 and 80,000; and that of *Clement* (in conformity to the present Hebrew) reading 400,000 and 800,000. *Infalibility* thus contradicting *Infalibility*, and the *excommunicatio major* being thunder'd forth against the minutest alteration in *either* copy, and yet *both* being pronounc'd *authentic*, tho' containing near 2000 variations --- these marvellous circumstances, relative to the discordance of the two *Papal* editions *, induc'd me

* Of all the objections, urg'd against *the Infalibility of the Church of Rome*, there is scarce one more conclusive than this before us: let us therefore briefly consider it. To appoint what is SCRIPTURE, and what is not — this must be (if any thing can be) to act in matter of faith. And is it not the uniform doctrine of Popery, that *the Pope cannot err in matter of faith*? Behold then Pope *Sixtus* the 5th, preparing a perfect edition of the Latin Bible — collecting *the most ancient MSS, and best printed copies* — summoning *the most learned men out of all the nations of the Christian world* — assembling a congregation of Cardinals, for *their assistance and counsel* — presiding over the whole *Himself*, in the plenitude of zeal and certain knowledge! Behold every word, in the copy prepar'd for the press, examin'd, and fully weigh'd, by *Himself*; who laboriously spent many hours, every day, in selecting the truest readings! The edition being printed, behold it declar'd to be corrected in the very best manner possible; and publish'd with a tremendous *excommunication of every person*, who should presume (ever afterwards) to alter the least particle of the edition thus authentically promulg'd by *His Holiness*, sitting in that Chair, *in qua Petri vivit potestas, & excellit auctoritas!*

And yet — behold Pope *Clement* the 8th, not more than two years after, solemnly publishing another edition of the same Bible; an edition so different from that of *Sixtus*, as to contain 2000

varia-

to examine other Latin copies of the passage before us. As to different *printed* editions, I

variations; some of whole verses, and many others clearly and designedly contradictory in sense! [See James's *Bellum Papale* (1600) and his *Defence of it* (1611) pag. 38. See also Dr. Hody, *de Bibl. text. origin. &c.* pag. 494 — 507.] And this edition of Clement, with all its repugnancies to the former, is also pronounc'd *authentic*, by the same plenitude of knowledge and of power; and enforc'd by the same sentence of *Excommunication*!

The defense, made by the Papists, is — that Clement only corrected those errors of the press, which Sixtus design'd to have corrected in a second edition. 'Tis thus, that Clement endeavours in his preface to evade the sentence of Excommunication. — *Quod cum jam esset excusum, Sixtus, animadvertens non pauca præli vitio irrepsisse, totum opus sub incudem revocandum decrevit; quod, morte præventus, præstare non potuit.* That Sixtus design'd a new edition, tho' it is here intimated, cannot be prov'd; and the contrary is manifest from the following fact, which Clement would not mention — that Sixtus, after his edition was printed, observing some errors in it, corrected them with his own hand, either with his own pen, or by pasting on words new printed. And as he himself thus corrected the errors of his own edition, and then sent it forth to be receiv'd and maintain'd, unalterably, for ever; 'tis vain to pretend, that he meditated afterwards a different edition. That Sixtus thus corrected his edition, when printed, we may assert upon the authority of his own Bull — *Eaque res quo magis incorrupte perficeretur, NOSTRA NOS IPSI MANU correximus, si qua prælo vitia obrepserant.* We may therefore take it for granted, that Sixtus did in fact correct *every single copy* of his edition; as the learned may see it carefully perform'd, partly by the pen, but chiefly by words re-printed and pasted on, in the copy very fortunately preserv'd in the Bodleian library. James, at the beginning of his *Bellum Papale*, has enumerated 28 places, as thus corrected. But if he us'd this very Bodleian copy, he was not accurate: for I have observ'd several words,

cor-

have examin'd 31; none of which are later than that of Clement, in 1592. I have also examin'd 51 MSS; 45 in the Bodleian library; 4 in the library of Dean Aldrich at Christ-Church; and 2 in Exeter College library. I presume, it will oblige the curious Reader; if I present him with the various readings of these 82 copies, as to the passage before-mention'd. It may be sufficient to note *the dates* of the printed editions; and the eight following editions contain the *larger* numbers --- 400,000, 800,000, and 500,000. Editions printed ---- 1526, 1542, 1543, 1556, 1564, 1579, 1588, 1592. The following are such editions, as either uniformly read the three *less* numbers; or are irregularly corrupted, varying in *one* or *two* numbers only.

corrected in the same manner; which he has taken no notice of.

Upon the whole: if the edition of Sixtus was perfect; Clement, with his Cardinals, must have been *fallible*. If Clement's edition be perfect; Sixtus, with his Cardinals, must have been *fallible*. And if we could possibly concede to Clement, that Sixtus did intend a second and better edition; how can we be sure, that *the same Pope and Council*, who prov'd FALLIBLE in their FIRST edition, would have prov'd INFALLIBLE in their SECOND? In short: as these two Papal Bibles thus unite to overthrow the boasted Infallibility of the Church of Rome; it seems not very unwise, tho' very bold, conduct in *Baldwin the Jesuit* (see James's Defence p. 34) who, knowing the Bible of Sixtus to be extremely scarce, affirm'd — *it was never publish'd at all.*

1462	—	40,000	80,000	50,000
1475	—	40,000	80,000	50,000
1476	—	40,000	80,000	50,000
1479	—	40,000	80,000	50,000
1492	—	40,000	80,000	50,000
1495	—	40,000	80,000	50,000
1514	—	40,000	80,000	50,000
1522	—	40,000	80,000	50,000
1523	—	40,000	80,000	50,000
1526	—	40,000	80,000	50,000
1527	—	40,000	800,000	50,000
1540	—	40,000	80,000	50,000
1545	—	40,000	80,000	500,000
1564	—	40,000	80,000	50,000
1569	—	40,000	80,000	50,000
1573 ¹	—	40,000	80,000	50,000
1573 ²	—	40,000	80,000	50,000
1578	—	40,000	80,000	50,000
1580	—	40,000	80,000	50,000
1583	—	40,000	80,000	50,000
1584	—	40,000	80,000	50,000
1589	—	40,000	80,000	500,000
1590	—	40,000	80,000	50,000

As to the Latin *written* copies; the 22, which contain the larger numbers, are catalogued (in the Bodleian) N°. 516, 678, 757, 1258, 1610, 1848, 1852, 1853, 1858, 2022, 2055, 2056, 2392, 2519, 2665, 2682, 3050, 3564, 3587, 3611, 4047, 4086. The following are such MSS, as uniformly read the three

¹ Printed at Paris.

² Printed at Basil.

left numbers ; or else are corrupted irregularly, varying only in *one* or *two* numbers.

No. 810	----	400,000	800,000	50,000
1144	----	60,000	800,000	50,000
1426	----	40,000	80,000	50,000
1511	----	40,000	800,000	50,000
1830	----	400,000	700,000	50,000
1849	----	40,000	800,000	50,000
1855	----	40,000	70,000	50,000
1967	----	40,000	80,000	500,000
1968	----	400,000	800,000	50,000
2029	----	40,000	80,000	50,000
2031	----	40,000	80,000	50,000
2032	----	40,000	80,000	50,000
2118	----	400,000	800,000	50,000
2427	----	40,000	80,000	500,000
2700	----	400,000	80,000	50,000
2703	----	40,000	80,000	50,000
3051	----	40,000	80,000	50,000
3497	----	400,000	800,000	50,000
3563	----	40,000	80,000	50,000
3700	----	40,000	80,000	500,000
4053	----	40,000	80,000	50,000
4089	----	40,000	80,000	50,000
8187	----	40,000	80,000	50,000

Christ-Church, Archiv. Aldrich.

C 12	----	40,000	80,000	50,000
C 14	----	40,000	800,000	50,000
D 19	----	40,000	80,000	50,000
F 4	----	40,000	80,000	50,000

Exeter College Library.

C 2,7	----	40,000	80,000	50,000
C 2,13	----	40,000	80,000	50,000

The

The Reader will certainly be surpriz'd, perhaps he will be pleas'd, to find in the written and printed Bibles such numerous authorities for the *smaller* numbers; because these recover a credibility to the history, which the *larger* numbers seem to deprive it of. But, besides the many copies, which uniformly read 40 and 80 and 50 thousand; the other copies, which are corrupted but in part, confirm also the smaller numbers. Four copies read 800,000 as fighting against 40,000: one copy reads 400,000 as fighting against 80,000: and five copies read 500,000 as slain out of 80,000; which is most evidently impossible.

Perhaps it may be ask'd here --- How were these numbers express'd by St. Jerom? To which I answer; that the numbers, settled by that author, can only be learnt from the copies of his Bible: and we have seen how *these*, both written and printed, vary. 'Tis remarkable --- that all the *older printed* editions, as well as most of the *older MSS*, have the *smaller* numbers. Nicolas de Lyra, in his Gloss, printed (1589) in the margin of a Latin Bible (which reads 500,000 slain) quotes Jerom, as reading only 50,000. And thus in the Paris edition of Jerom's works (1546) we read in the *Quæst. Heb. in Paralipom*: — cor-

B b

ruerunt

ruerunt vulnerati ex Israel quinquaginta milia. But Erasmus doubts, whether this part (the *Quæst. Heb.*) be the genuine work of Jerom. In the Benedictine edition (vol. 1, col. 1075) the numbers in verse the 3d of this chapter in *Chronicles*, are printed 400,000 and 800,000. Upon which there is the following remarkable note, at the bottom of the page --- MSS. *Reg. Corbei. 14, & San-German. 15, legunt quadraginta & octoginta. Canon Memmianus pure legit juxta HEBRÆUM, QUOD NOS EDIDIMUS.*

This Memmian canon of the Hebrew verity is said to have been made at the command of Theodulphus, Bp of Orleans, in the 9th century. And, whether this canon be of authority or not; we find, that the editors of this famous edition of Jerom *settled the version of Jerom* according to what was, as they thought, *the Hebrew verity*. No wonder therefore, that the printed copies of Jerom's Latin version agree, in so many places, with the corrupted Hebrew; since the editors of that version have made (what they call'd) the Hebrew verity *their criterion of truth and falsehood*. This then is the great point here complain'd of; and which the preceding observations have been brought to illustrate and ascertain.

'Tis

'Tis also observable, that the Vulgat of Sixtus, which has the three smaller numbers, seems to have been printed upon a juster plan than that of Clement; which has ever since usurp'd the place of it. Both editors profess to give a most correct edition of the Latin version, made by St. Jerom; but they proceed upon different principles. Sixtus professes to publish according to the most ancient and best Latin copies, assisted by the quotations of the Latin fathers: not to correct *even the errors of the Latin version*, by referring to *the Heb. text*; but to refer to that, *only*, where the Latin words should be ambiguous, or where the Latin copies varied remarkably. Whereas Clement, tho' he allows, that he alter'd some places designedly; and confesses, that as to other places, which seem'd to want correction, he left them as he found them, *for fear of giving offence* (which is a very timid apology from a Pope, who pretends to be *the pillar and ground of truth*) yet he seems to have made *the Heb. text* his general rule, for determining the best readings in the Latin copies of the old Testament --- *ut vulgatam editionem Latinam, adhibitis antiquissimis codicibus MStis, inspectis quoque HEBRAICIS FONTIBUS, accuratissime castigarent.* This difference

of proceeding is noted also by James, in the epistle prefix'd to his *Bellum Papale*; where he says --- *Pro Sixto faciunt Louanienses, Stephanus bona ex parte, Hentenius, & quotquot editiones receptæ sunt in ecclesia Romana per spatium multorum annorum: pro Clemente nuda* VERITAS HEBRAICA &c. I therefore apprehend, that the old Latin version is likely to be found more pure, in the edition of Sixtus, than in that of Clement; since the latter seems to have corrected his Latin by the modern (i. e. the corrupted) Heb. copies --- of which the numbers (40,000 and 80,000 and 50,000) as given by Sixtus, and the numbers (400,000 and 800,000 and 500,000) as given by Clement, furnish one very striking example.

Perhaps it may be ask'd here --- Whence were these *smaller* numbers translated, supposing them to be the more ancient; as the *Hebrew* and *Greek* copies have the *larger* numbers? I answer; they might be translated from ancient copies of the Heb. text, or of the Gr. version, or of both. That the ancient copies of the version of the LXX have been alter'd, in conformity to the Hebrew verity, no learned man can doubt: and that we have lost many of those marks, by which the *insertions*, *omissions*, and *changes* in that version were formerly

merly distinguish'd, cannot be denied. But still; the old copies of that version might not be, and certainly were not, universally conform'd to the Heb. text, either in the days of Origen, or of the correcters who succeeded him ---- Pamphilus, Lucian, and Hesychius. And many corruptions have probably been since introduc'd into the Heb. text; where the Gr. version has continued uncorrupted. So that where the Heb. text and Gr. version *now vary*, one will frequently correct the other: but where they *now agree*, in places probably corrupted; there the Greek may have been at first translated from, or afterwards made conformable to, the Hebrew, which had been previously corrupted.

That the Heb. text is corrupted in *many of its numbers*, has been (I presume) frequently prov'd already; and will be yet more fully prov'd hereafter. And that *some* of these numbers were corrupted very early, seems evident from the agreement of the Greek, Syriac, and Latin versions. Should it be demanded --- How numbers, which (as they are express'd in words at length) are widely different from each other, could possibly be mistaken by any transcriber; I would endeavour to satisfy such demand, by one or other of the following solutions.

The

The learned Vignoles (as before observ'd) has conjectur'd --- that, since many of the numbers are corrupted, in reading *hundreds* instead of *tens*, and *tens* instead of *hundreds*; therefore the Jewish transcribers might anciently express numbers by marks analogous to *our common figures*: as the Arabians have done for many hundred years. And if so; then the corruption of such numbers may easily be accounted for, from the transcriber's carelessly adding or omitting a single *cipher*. For example: we read now (1 Sam. 6, 19) that the Lord smote 50,070 Philistines, for looking into the ark; which number, the Syr. and Arab. versions tell us, was in their copies only 5070. Thus we read at present (1 Kin. 4, 26) that Solomon had 40,000 stalls for horses; which number the parallel passage in the Heb. text itself (2 Chron. 9, 25) assures us, was only 4000. And thus the *three* numbers, so frequently before mention'd, may have been corrupted by *the addition of a cipher*. And should any one doubt *the possibility* of a cipher being added by the same person in three numbers near together; I need only refer him back to *pag. 196* --- where a cipher was at first added by *my compositor* to each of the three large numbers; which were there-

therefore printed in the proof-sheet 4000,000 8000,000, and 5000,000.

The other conjecture is, that the Jews anciently express'd their sacred numbers by *numeral letters*. 'Tis certain, they do so at present in their own compositions; and 'tis certain also, that some of their ancient authors speak of single letters, as signifying numbers in the books of Scripture. Aben-Ezra, 600 years ago, consider'd the *Yod* in תיעשה (*Exod.* 25, 31) as inserted to express *ten*. R. Eliezer (whose book, call'd פרקי אליעזר, was publish'd by Vorstius in 1644) is allow'd by the Jews to have been a very ancient writer; and is said, in the preface, to have liv'd not long after the apostolic age. This Rabbi (*pag.* 75) considers the word יצחק as consisting of 4 numeral letters; which he makes to signify their *now* customary numbers -- 10, 90, 8, and 100.

'Tis well known, that the 22 Heb. letters express numbers as far as 400; and that the 5 remaining hundreds (under one thousand) are express'd by *different forms* of 5 of the letters, which seem invented on purpose to express them. Indeed it can scarce be doubted, but that as 5, and only 5, of the several hundreds wanted each a single letter; and as 5, and only 5, of these different forms were invented;

invented; so these new forms were invented, to express those remaining hundreds. The different forms of these 5 letters have been us'd; *at the end of words*, perhaps, ever since their first invention. And it is therefore probable, that if we could fix *the age* of these final letters; we might then fix the time, when the Bible numbers were express'd by single letters. These finals are not known to the Samaritans. And as they are not in the least wanted to express words, and yet are us'd in the Bible; so may we conclude, they were first introduc'd into the Bible for the purpose of numbers. This is the use made of them by the Jews, in their own writings; and indeed they are admitted, even now, into *the Jewish commentaries, as printed with the Heb. text*: see R. S. Jarchi, on *Gen. 25. 8*.

As the age of these finals tends to fix the age of these numeral letters; it may be observ'd, that the final *Mem* is mention'd in the Talmud of Babylon; and that the authors of both Talmuds speak of the 5 finals as of great antiquity, even in *their* time. To which I shall add, that St. Jerom, in his preface to the book of Kings, mentions the finals as equally in use with the 22 letters*. And as

* *Porro quinque literæ duplices apud Hebræos sunt; caph &c. aliter*

Jerom's Heb. MSS might easily be 200 years old; if the finals were in his MSS, it follows, that they must have been us'd soon after the time of Christ. In page the 8th of a *Dissertation on the Chronology of the Septuagint*, printed 1741; I find Jerom's authority made use of (without any part of his works being referr'd to) in the manner following --- *We are assured by St. Jerom, that the Heb. computations were not express'd in words at length, in the old Heb. copies, but in small characters scarcely visible.*

If we may infer from Jerom, that the finals were us'd in the Heb. MSS, at latest, about 200 years after Christ; we may infer from the Greek version, that they were not us'd in the Heb. MSS, till about 100 years before Christ. Dr. Hody, who seems to have given the most rational account of the origin of the several parts of the Greek version, tells us (pag. 188) that *Jeremiah* was translated into Greek, about 130 or 140 years before Christ. And from this version of *Jerem.* 31, 8 [i. e. in the Greek, ch. 38, 8] it seems clear that the finals were not then in the Heb. text. For in that verse, the seven letters בם עור

aliter enim scribuntur per has principia medietatesque verborum, aliter fines.

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(which

(which are here two words, and properly signify *εν αυτοις τυφλος*) are render'd in all the copies of the Gr. version *εν εορτη*. But such a rendring, being the proper Greek of *במועד*, which is one word only, shews that the *ו* was not then (*□*) *Mem final*; since the final would have divided the letters into two words, and prevented such a wrong translation.

Let us now see, upon this hypothesis of numeral letters; whether there is any particular likeness between such letters, as would represent the genuine and the corrupted numbers. In my *Dissertation* I mention'd the eight instances, which here follow.

Pag. 97	---	42 and 22	כב for מב
100	---	500 and 200	ך for ר
462	---	7000 and 700	י for י
463	---	7000 and 700	י for י
474	---	7 and 3	י for ג
529	---	550 and 250	נך for רנ
529	---	50 and 20	נ for כ
529	---	7 and 6	י for ו

Add now the three large and small numbers.

400,000 and 40,000	ך for ב
800,000 and 80,000	ך for ב
500,000 and 50,000	ך for י

It

It must be noted here, that some of these letters, which are not *now* so very similar as others, may *anciently* have been more similar. For, as to the first instance; the modern \mathfrak{D} is not so much like the \mathfrak{D} , as the old \mathfrak{D} .¹ These two letters are also very like in the Samaritan; being there \mathfrak{D} and \mathfrak{D} . 'Tis farther observable, in vindication of the last instance but two; that the \mathfrak{D} , as it was very anciently express'd by some, was almost exactly the shape of the modern \mathfrak{D} , with the left perpendicular stroke turning round at the bottom to the left, and terminating in a point.²

That *the thousands* were express'd anciently by single letters, with a dot or some mark over them, may be presum'd from *Exra* 1, 10 --- where *the silver basons* are said to be (*of a second sort, without mentioning any first sort*) 410. But in the parallel account, preserv'd in (what is now call'd) *Esdras* ch. 2, 13, we find *the same silver basons* to have been 2410; which last is the true number: see Mr. Hallett's *Notes on the Old Test.* vol. 2, pag. 81. Now if \mathfrak{D} , with a dot over it, stood

¹ See Montfaucon's Prelim. Dissertation before Origen's Hexapla: p. 22.

² See the Palmyrene alphabet, pag. 693 and 740, vol. 48; see also the plate, at pag. 593, vol. 49; of our Philosophical Transactions.

for 2000; the letter might very easily be copied without the dot. Afterwards, when (in consequence of the corruptions, which had been found to arise from *numeral letters*) numbers were express'd by *words at length*; the 2 (being thus reduc'd to signify *two*) was of course written שני: but this word, making nonsense with the following (i. e. *two four hundred and ten*) has been since chang'd into משני --- a word, not very agreeable to the sense here --- and a word, which renders this account not only *repugnant* to the parallel chapter, but also *inconsistent* with itself, as leaving *the sum total* (now specified in the Heb. text) very deficient for want of the 2000 thus omitted.

That Origen express'd the Heb. numbers, in his Hexapla, by numeral letters, may be presum'd, because he express'd the *Greek* so: and that his Greek numbers were so express'd, is probable, because the Greek numbers are found so express'd in the Colbertine MS, which is allow'd to have been copied from the Hexapla. This very ancient Greek fragment reads in *Jud.* 10, 3: ΕΚ ΠΙΝΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΙΣΡΑΗΛ Β ΚΑΙ ΚΕΤΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΕΝΟΝ ΤΟ ΑΥΤΩ Β ΚΑΙ ΙΑΤΙΟΙ.

The Jerusalem Talmud, which is much later than Origen, has a passage pertinent to the

the present subject. It tells us, as to Jacob's *eleven* sons (*Gen. 32, 22*) that one old Heb. MS read *תשע היא*, but two old MSS read *אחת עשרה היא*. On which R. Japhe remarks, that as the letters *היא* are not in the text itself, and yet are in both quotations; the *א* must in both quotations stand for *eleven*. * If this be true; then that MS, which read *תשע היא*, seems to have united two readings; taking the one from some MS which read *תשע novem*, and the other from some MS which read *א undecim*. The latter is the true reading; and therefore the letters *א* seem inserted also in the two MSS, as the way of expressing *eleven* in some former Heb. MSS.

An Harleian MS, N°. 1861, in *Exod. 20, 5*, reads *ל ועל שלשים*; where the *ל*, being the numeral letter for 30, is inserted after the word *שלשים*, which *generally* signifies 30, tho' it does not so in this place; and therefore 'tis probable, that in some former MS, the transcriber had express'd the word here by *ל*, mistaking the word for 30.

I shall finish these remarks on the Heb. numeral letters, with the following authorities. Huetius says --- *Facilis est conjectura, lapsus hic in pingenda NUMERI NOTA libra-*

* See Morin. de Heb. & Gr. tex. Integritate, p. 561.

rium, ut alias sæpe contingit --- Id tantum his cavillationibus extorqueri posset, luxatum esse in ARITHMETICIS aliquibus notis Scripturæ sacrae contextum; quod neque quisquam negat.¹ Capellus says --- Non est quod quis miretur hanc in numeris discrepantiam --- orta videtur (ex parte saltem) ex librariorum, in describendis sacris libris, lapsu; qui in numeris, ex NOTARUM forte NUMERICARUM similitudine, facilis est atque proclivis.² And Walton (treating of the Integrity of the Heb. Text) having prov'd by a multitude of authorities, that the Heb. MSS did vary in many instances, that the Jews own'd the existence of such variations, and that not only Buxtorf, and Junius, but St. Jerom also allow'd the very same; adds: *Cum Hieronymo consentiunt fere omnes, in antiquis codicibus versati; qui, ut in aliis varietates irrepisse advertunt, sic præcipue in numeris & propriis nominibus. --- Ipse Scaliger sic scribit. --- "In 2 Reg. 24, 18, Joachim iniit regnum annos natus 18. At in 2 Chron. 36, 9, "erat octo tantum annorum; ut omnino DENARIUM NOTA hic desideretur. Nam LITERIS NUMERALIBUS, non verbis, antiquitus numeri concipiebantur: unde natum est illud*

¹ Demonstratio Evang. in capite de libris Paralipom.

² Critica sacra, lib. 3, cap. 20, sec. 13.

“(1 Sam. 13, 1) שנה בן ---- *deest enim*
 “*nota numeralis. Editio Græca* υιος ην ενιαυτου,
 “*alii codices* ενιαυτου ετων. --- *Hoc natum est ex*
 “*compendiosa numeros scribendi ratione: quod*
 “*nisi concedamus, quomodo tot varietates & dif-*
 “*crimina numerorum excusemus, non video.*”

After which Walton adds --- *Qui vero discre-*
pantias illas non volunt esse codicum variorum
lectiones, sed utrasque divinæ esse auctoritatis;
 HI EX DEO JANUM ALIQUEM BIFRONTIEM
 FACIUNT, SPECTANTEM *πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ὀπίσθω.*
*Prolegom. 7; 12, 13, 14. **

The preceding remarks having been occa-
 sion'd by the variation of the copies, as to the
 three larger and smaller numbers, in 2 Chron.
 13; 3, 17; it may be proper here, at the con-
 clusion, to subjoin one observation. If any
 man of learning should be still inclin'd to un-

* It may be noted here; that the errors in point of *numbers*,
 made by the transcribers of the Heb. Text, by no means prove
 them to have been less careful than other transcribers. Such errors
 could not, without a constant miracle, have been prevented, in
 the copies of ancient books very frequently transcrib'd: and such
 errors have been introduc'd, perhaps in greater abundance, by
 the transcribers of other ancient MSS. The reverend and learned
 Dr. Taylor, after having critically examin'd a variety of Greek
 MSS, makes the following remark, in his valuable edition of
 Demosthenes, vol. 2, pag. 600 — *Librarii male mensem istum*
Διωνειον vocant, cum Δαργειον potius exarassent. Verum IN SCRIP-
TIS CODD. ERROR NUMERALIUM EST INFINITUS.

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dertake a vindication of the *larger* numbers; and should think he could render them probable, by comparing them with other *very large* numbers in the same history: I would recommend it to him to consider --- Whether some of those *other* very large numbers may not be corrupted likewise. For, if so; he would then only build error upon error: in which case, whenever the foundation shall be remov'd, the superstructure must fall to the ground. As for example.

Would any wise man, truly zealous for the honour of the Scripture history, undertake to defend the present numbers of 2 *Chron.* 17, 13 --- 19? Where the Heb. copies now assure us, that there were, in the city of Jerusalem, ONE MILLION ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY THOUSAND; who, being *mighty men of valour, waited on* king Jehoshaphat, as only one part of his troops: for we read expressly --- *these were in Jerusalem, and waited on the king; besides those, whom the king put in the fenced cities throughout all Judah.*

It would perhaps be equally unadvisable to attempt a vindication of what we read now in 2 *Chron.* 14, 8; where Asa's forces are reckon'd at near SIX HUNDRED THOUSAND men. But, could the king of Judah have been

so extremely distress'd at the approach of only the men of Israel, as to take out of the temple and out of the king's house all the silver and gold that were left, and to hire the Syrians to help him against Israel; if he had at home so vast an army as 580,000 men, and all these mighty men of valour? Or, if he had in fact so vast an army; would it have been at all necessary for him, upon the retreat of Israel, to have rais'd all his subjects without distinction, to help in demolishing the works at Ramah. See 2 Chron. 16, 1 — 6; and 1 Kin. 15, 16 — 22.

Lastly: there would probably be equal difficulty, in vindicating what we read at present (2 Chron. 25, 6) that the Israelites were able to lend to Amaziah 100,000 mighty men of valour; when we are assur'd, they were so greatly reduc'd but a few years before, that there were left of the people of Israel only 50 horsemen, 10 chariots, and 10,000 footmen: for the King of Syria had destroyed them, and had made them like the dust by threshing. See 2 Kin. 13, 7.

It is presum'd, the preceding pages of remarks on the Heb. numbers, and on the causes of their corruption, will be thought not only of consequence in themselves, but to

bear some connexion with the general position contain'd in pages 193 and 194 --- relating to the bad consequences, which have attended the wrong notion of *the Integrity of the modern Heb. Text.*

As it has been abundantly prov'd, in the many remarks before made, that *the Chald. paraphrase* has been wilfully alter'd, to render it more comformable to the Heb. text, in places before corrupted; so has it appear'd, from the remarks upon *the Greek and Latin versions*, that *they* also have suffer'd, on account of the suppos'd perfection of the Heb. text. But, let us return from this long digression, concerning the Greek and Latin versions; and conclude what has been offer'd on the printed Chald. paraphrase.

Wherever this paraphrase is now found to agree with the present Heb. text, in places probably corrupted; we may fairly presume, that this agreement has been occasion'd by wilful alterations of the paraphrase in conformity to the text. But, where it still differs from the present Heb. text (as it does in many places, and some of considerable importance) there it may still preserve the dignity of an ancient paraphrase; and may be of great use

use, to assist in the *recovery* of such readings as are lost, and in the *explanation* of such as are difficult and obscure. And lastly; as some parts of this paraphrase are of much greater authority than others, on account of their greater age, and of the greater accuracy and closeness with which they were compos'd: so, the Reader will, on these accounts, pay his principal regard to the paraphrase upon the *Pentateuch* --- next, to that upon the anterior and posterior *Prophets* --- still less, to that upon the greater part of the *Hagiographa* --- and least of all, to that upon the five small books, call'd the *Megilloth*; the paraphrase upon which books is certainly much later, and far more vague, than upon any of the former.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER III;

containing

The Sentiments of the JEWS Themselves

on

The Hebrew Text.

THE remarks, which seem'd necessary, upon the *Samar. Pentateuch* and the *Chald. Paraphrase*, being thus submitted to the Learned; I proceed now, agreeably to the method propos'd in the introduction, to article the *Third*. And the intention of this chapter is --- to consider *the Sentiments of the Jews themselves*, as to the Heb. text of the old Testament --- to enquire, whether they have ever allow'd *variations* in their written Heb. copies --- if so; how they accounted for such variations --- how they determin'd the preference of some variations to others --- what MSS they judg'd the best --- and from what sort of MS or MSS, and by what rule or rules, the Heb. Text was at first, and has been since, printed. THESE, tho' points of very material consequence (and tho' the discussion of them be indeed necessary, in order to the forming a perfect judgment of *the state* of

of the printed Heb. Text) are yet, at present, known very imperfectly : at least, there has been publickly communicated but little evidence upon this head, that may safely be confided in.

The various references to Jewish writers, and quotations from the most eminent, which are collected in this chapter, will prove the more acceptable to the curious reader ; if he previously considers, *how necessary such recourse to the Jews is*, upon several of those articles, which are essential links in the chain of this enquiry. And of this necessity he will be perfectly convinc'd, upon perusing the following 20 interrogatories ; which may be put to every Christian advocate for *the Integrity* of the printed Heb. Text.

1. Whether *all the MSS* of the Heb. Bible have been transcrib'd *without error* ?

2. If *so* ; why this constant miracle vouchsaf'd to the transcribers of the *old* Testament, and not to those of the *new* ?

3. If *not so* ; how are we to determine the merit of disagreeing MSS, and detect their errors : how decide, for instance, between the MSS of the *Eastern* and *Western* provinces ; since they have been allow'd to differ (not in
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mere *points and accents*, but) in at least 200 words ?

4. If we follow the *Western* copies ; how are we to decide here again (for the question immediately recurs) between many MSS, all containing some mistakes ?

5. From *what sort of a MS* was the Heb. Bible first printed, about 250 years ago ?

6. If from *several* MSS ; did the editor *select* out of them the best and truest readings ?

7. If that be asserted ; what proof have we of that editor's *infallibility* ?

8. If he had any *Masora*, to regulate his judgment, was that *Masora* perfect, and consistent ; and was it form'd upon uncorrupted, at least, upon very ancient, copies ?

9. If his *Masora* was form'd on *late* and *corrupted* copies, and inconsistent with itself, as well as imperfect ; would not such a rule lead him to establish *wrong*, instead of *true*, readings ?

10. When other editions of the Heb. Bible were printed afterwards, did the editors of these print from the first : and if so ; *where*, and by *whom*, was that first edition printed ?

11. If these editors did not copy from the first ; from *what sort of MS*, or *MSS*, did each of them publish : and were *their* MSS
of

of greater, or less, authority than those us'd by the first editor; and Why?

12. As there have been printed near 100 editions of the Heb. Bible; do they all contain *the same* true text?

13. If the text of these different editions varies (as it does, not in the *points* only, but in at least 25 *words*) WHICH of these 100 editions is so fortunate as to contain *the true text*: and Why? — A Question! which (it is presum'd) cannot be answer'd by *the ablest advocate for the Integrity of the printed Heb. text.*

14. If *no single* printed edition contains the true text; how are we sure, that it is contain'd in them *all* together?

15. Should it be allow'd to lie scatter'd in them all; by what rules is it to be collected into one volume: or how are we to determine *as true* any reading, admitted (suppose) into 50 of the printed copies, but rejected by the other 50: or, are 51 to be always decisive against 49?

16. If an Heb. Bible is printed *without the Keri*, in the margin; is it therefore imperfect: and if it must have the Keri, *how often* must it have it, in order to make a *perfect edition*?

17. As

17. As Elias Levita reckons the marginal variations 848; has the *Bomberg* edition *too many*, in admitting 1171; or has the *Plantin* edition *too few*, in allowing but 793?

18. When the exact number of the Keri is settled; is it, in *any one* instance, to be preferred to the reading in the text: if so; does not that prove the *non-integrity* of the text?*

19. If the Keri be sometimes the *truer* reading; is it so *universally*?

20. And if it be true sometimes, and not universally; how are we to determine here, as well as in all the preceding cases, with any degree of certainty: without recurring, after all, to *the same rules of criticism*, by which the learned agree to fix the true text of the *new* Testament, and of all other *ancient* writings?

Now as several of the preceding articles can only be settled by references to the Jews; it is of principal concern to search after and examine such amongst the Jewish writers, as are most likely to furnish full and fair evidence. And here the author, most likely to give the reader just satisfaction, in point of honesty as

* *Quæ poterit ascendere in cor, ut legeretur ipsum Keri; & relinqueremus scripturam, quæ scripta erat per digitum Dei?*
Chaim's Pref. sect. 15.

well as skill, is RABBI JACOB BEN CHAIM ; who was, not only one of the chief Jewish critics, but had the care of the large *Bomberg* edition, printed at *Venice* in 1526 ; and also prefix'd to that edition a very long Preface.

But this Preface being printed in the Rabbinical character, which few Christians can read, and fewer explain ; no wonder it has continued almost as unknown, as if it had never existed. And this obscure fate has attended it, the rather ; because some few, who could have translated it, did not choose to publish what was unfriendly to their own favourite opinions. A few lines indeed have been, now and then, quoted from it by different authors. And *Claudius Cappellanus* (in a valuable little book, which shall be more particularly mention'd hereafter) has given several sentences of the original, with a Latin translation : which whole book of Cappellanus was afterwards re-publish'd in a collection of small tracts (10 vol. in 12°.) call'd *Fasciculus Opusculorum* &c. Rotterod. 1700.

The specimens, thus publish'd, have long rais'd a desire in the Learned, to know the whole of a Preface, wrote by so remarkable an author ; which has been presum'd to contain many things of real importance. It was

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therefore matter of agreeable surprize, to discover lately, in the Bodleian library, a MS, which contains a *Latin translation of this Preface*. A Curiosity; which (tho' its Latin dress be very uncooth) has been thought so respectable for its sense, that the publication of it has been earnestly recommended. I very readily comply with this advice; and as truly-critical Readers would not willingly lose any material part of this Preface, I shall here give almost the whole; omitting only repetitions that are needless, and a few parts that seem unnecessary. And, at the end of this Preface, I shall offer such remarks upon it, as will prove it to have the most intimate connexion with the present enquiry into the State of the printed Heb. Text.

Cappellanus says of it --- *Præfatio splendida R. Jac. ben Chaim nullum, quem sciam, hætenus invenit interpretem, qui eam latinis typis proferret: a paucis cognita fuit latinis authoribus; fuitque ipsis tanquam non edita. Tota scatet quæstionibus criticis Biblicis, agens de VARIATIONIBUS scripturæ; & fatetur disertis verbis, Talmud repugnare Masoræ & bodierno contextui. Fortasse totam illam præfationem (quam jampridem promiserat Buxtorfius senior) cum necessariis observationibus & animadversionibus,*

madversionibus, aliquando latinitate donabimus.

Par. 2, cap. 4.

At the top of the first page of this translation, are the words following; which seem to imply, that the translator liv'd in the parish of *St. Ethelburg* (perhaps was Rector there) and that he corrected his translation at *Tottenham*, by the assistance of the Jew here mention'd — *Ad D. Ethelbur. Lond. 1601, Julii 6°. Tottenhami, correxi; opera & auxilio honestissimi viri Jacobi Wulff-gangi Judæi.* And on the cover we read --- *Translatio Præfationis Hebraicæ, quam Bombergi Bibliis præfixit Judæus quidam Tunetanus, eorundem Bibliorum corrector ad prælum.*

THE PREFACE

OF

Rabbi JACOB BEN CHAIM.

LAUDETUR CREATOR &c. ——— Deus dedit LINGUAM SANCTAM legis & prophetarum populo suo. Illi norunt secreta ejus, grammaticalia ejus, & singula particularia ejus, strataque viarum ejus. *Viri Synagoga Magnæ*, quasi lux splendidissima & aurum defæcatum (in quorum cordibus omne statutum fuit certo decretum) erexerunt signa, & ædificarunt ei præmunitiones, & murum, & scrobem inter muros; & posuerunt vestes & valvas, ad muniendum fortalitium ejus, ut relinquerent eam puram & mundam (accedunt enim omnes ad nubem scintillæ doctrinæ ejus) ut nemo extenderet manum suam; & ne qua pes eam conculcet, posuit custodiam omni stulto: ligarunt etiam ligamentis fusilis auri verba ejus. Et requievit Spiritus super illos; & ce-

lebres fuerunt, & prophetati sunt, & non cessarunt. Post illos abscondita est visio, & scaturigo ejus clausa: non fuit amplius Angelus Domini; nam non surrexit post illos, qui faceret opera eorum. Et ecce nos, qui hic sumus hodie, colligimus spicas eorum, quarum illi obliti sunt: omisimus item non necessaria, quæ illi aliquoties inferebant. Die autem & nocte currimus per vestigia eorum, & defatigamur; neque tamen apprehendimus eos.

SECT. II. Tranquillus fui in domo mea, & virens in palatio meo; intentus doctrinæ meæ, in Tunis, civitate, quæ est in viciniis Carthaginis antiquæ. Movit me autem tempus in regiones occidentales, & impulit me huc Venetias. Circiter post tres menses dixi in corde, Surgam & circuibo civitatem. Deus obviam ire fecit mihi virum quendam e sanctis Christianis (מחסידי הנוצרים) cujus nomen fuit Daniel Bombergus. Adduxit me in domum typographicam ejus; & dixit, Cupio ut corrigeres libros imprimendos, & removeas ab iis *offendicula errorum*, & purges, & defæces eos in fornace diligentissimarum inspectionum, & appendas eos in lancibus rectitudinum; ut tandem prodeant in lucem candidissimi, purgatissimi ut defæcatum argentum. Quamvis autem videbam desiderium ejus *majus quam quod comprehendere potui*; tamen dixi in corde, Nemo debet refragari magno viro. Diximus ei; quod *ego non novi totum hoc*, neque id quod est propinquum huic. Insuper, propterea quod opinio mea tenuis est, similis sum ego pugioni humili; (adeo) ut (si) aggrederer res magnas, quales sunt istæ, exhibet ex eo desolatio. Secundum illud R. Ismaelis, "Fili mi, cautus esto in opere tuo: opus tuum est opus Dei: & si forte omiseris literam inventam, vel "inferas non inventam, destruas mundum universum." Quanto autem magis hoc tempore, in quo non est discrimen inter Legem scriptam & non scriptam; a tempore enim quo descripta est in libros, non est discrimen inter hanc & illam. Quoniam ex hoc contingat, ut tu scribas loco *prohibiti* legitimum, & loco *legitimi* prohibitum. Ideoque non confidam nimium opinioni meæ, usque dum viderim, inter libros *correctiores*, duos vel tres; si fuerint consentientes inter se, bene: & si non, nos volumus declarare ex illis quod *videtur nobis minime dubium*; & emendabimus illud, dum

dam appareat nobis id quod clarum est. Et modo admonuerunt R. Moses B. Nachman & R. Sol. B. Eleazer, ut non corrigerent ex opinione propria.

III. Evenit autem, ut excitaret Deus spiritum nobilissimi viri, cum quo versatus sum; & confortavit cor ejus, ad imprimendum 24 libros. Dixit itaque mihi, Accingas ut fortis lumbos tuos; cupio enim imprimere 24 libros, cum commentariis Rabbino- rum, Chaldaica Paraphrasi, Masora magna & parva, Keri & Cetib, & eis quæ plene scribuntur & quæ defectivæ, & cætera grammaticalia: in fine erit Masora magna, secundum ordinem Aruc (i. e. alphabeticum.) Quum autem viderim rem glorio- sam esse, ad ostendendam excellentiam Legis nostræ sanctæ (ab eo enim die quo primum descripta est nihil tale contigit, si- ve respicias ordinem ejus si- ve præstantiam) intendi omnes nervos ingenii mei, ut satisfacerem desiderio ejus.

IV. Cum autem viderem multos e cœtu *Sapientum* nostrorum, qui hac nostra ætate vivunt, non ordinasse cor suum erga Masso- reth, * neque sequi *in aliqua re* sententiam Masoritarum (dicunt enim, *Quænam utilitas consequatur ex ea?*) ita ut fere oblivioni tradita est & deperdita; excussi lacertum meum, ut ostenderem dignitatem Masoræ; & quod sine ea impossibile est scribere libros recte & emendate, multo magis libros Bibliorum.

V. Item ratiocinabimur contra quosdam e nostris sapientibus novissimis; qui retulerunt, quod *Keri & Cetib* hac ratione inventa sunt. Quum in deportatione prima perierunt libri sacri (nam illi etiam transportati fuerunt) & sapientes, qui noverunt S. S. mor- tui fuerunt; viri Synagogæ magnæ invenerunt libros diversos in- ter se differre; & in loco, ubi invenerunt *dubitationem & confu- sionem*, adscribebant unum, sed non punctabant ipsum; vel ad- scripserunt margini, sed non in textu; quia fuerunt dubii de eo quod invenerunt.

* The words *Masora* and *Massoreth* are evidently us'd here, indiscriminately, for the same thing. And thus Leusden tells us — *Masora est vox, quæ tribus modis solet efferri; Masora, Maso- reth, & Massoreth: quorum nominum primum est omnium frequen- tissimum.* De Masora, Sect. 1.

VI. Opinio

VI. Opinio autem eorum longe abest a meo sensu; quemadmodum declarabo, quum respondero eis e Gemara. Deinde considerabimus de discrimine inter Gemara nostrum & inter autores Masoræ, in multis locis; ex iis autem omnibus *eligemus meliorem*; & adducemus ex eis id quod legerimus, & faciat ad nostrum propositum. Tum respondebimus hæreticis (המניין) qui pessime loquuntur de nobis; nempe aiunt, Nos alterasse in lege nostra circiter 18 voces, quas nostri vocant *Tikkun sopherim* & *Istur sopherim*, & *Keri* & *Cetib*, & rectum ordinem eorum. Denique ostendam, quem ordinem secutus sim in Masora parva & magna. Et primo ordinabo bellum contra sapientes posteriores; quoniam dicunt id quod est probrosum Legi nostræ; quod *Keri* & *Cetib* fuerunt *dubitationes* quædam, in quibus hæserunt viri magnæ Synagogæ. Hæc autem sunt nomina & verba eorum.

VII. EPHODÆUS ita scribit. Caput scribarum Ezra intendit omnes vires, ut corrigeret errores; & sic etiam fecerunt omnes scribæ, qui ipsum sequebantur: *correxerunt*, inquam, *libros istos tam perfecte, quantum fieri potuit*. Hoc fuit in causa, quod habemus illos tam perfectos, in numero sectionum & versuum, dictionum & literarum, plene scriptorum & defective, anomales & Hebraica phrasi; fecerunt etiam de hac re libros multos, ut sunt libri Masoræ. In locis etiam, quibus acciderat *corruptio* & *confusio*, apposuerunt *Keri* & *Cetib*; quoniam dubitabant, utra verior esset (ex eis) quæ invenerint.

VIII. Quantum ad KIMCHI attinet; satis mirari non potero, quod os sanctum loqueretur consentaneum huic; hoc autem est verbum ejus. Apparet quod istæ voces inventæ fuerunt, propterea quod in captivitate priori perierunt libri, quum transportati fuerunt de loco in locum, & sapientes etiam qui experti fuerunt in S. S. mortui sunt; & viri Synagogæ magnæ, qui reduxerunt legem ad antiquam formam, *quum invenissent differentias in libris (ambularunt in eis post multitudinem) elegerunt inter illas quod sua opinione conveniebat cum plurimis exemplaribus*; & propter claritatem, scripserunt unum, & non punctarunt illud; aut scripserunt in margine & non in textu: & sic scripserunt forma una in margine, & alia in textu. Huc usque ille.

IX. ABAR-

IX. ABARBANEL sic respondit. Opinio ista, qua consentiunt sapientes isti, longe remota est a meo sensu. Nam quomodo potero in anima mea credere, & quomodo inducam ut loquatur labium meum, Quod Ezra invenerit librum Legis Dei, & libros Prophetarum ejus, dubiis implicatos propter *corruptionem & confusionem*: quum tamen liber Legis, cui deest vel una litera, est prophanatus; quanto magis per Keri & Cetib; nam juxta Keri desunt in Lege multæ literæ &c. Quæro ab illis, num fuerit Keri & Cetib juxta id quod invenerunt in libris variis; neque tamen innotesceret Ezræ, utra via eorum (habitabat in luce) vera esset; quod posuerit duo exemplaria, unum in margine alterum in textu. Si autem sic; quare in commentariis in Hagio-grapha sequatur [Kimchi] semper ipsum Keri & non Cetib? Et quare Ezra, quum fuerat res illi dubia, fecerit punctationem semper convenire Keri & non Cetib? Et si hæc fuit illorum opinio, posuisset certe exemplum Keri in textu, quoniam hoc verum est. Secundo: si hæc fuerat in causa corruptionis, quæ contingebat libris ex parte exilii; sequitur quod incidit propter casum, juxta locum emaculatum aut inventum. Tu autem invenies in sectione לך לך scriptum מלך צביו, Keri vero est מלך צביו; & sic scribitur semel alio in loco. Quid? anne incidit casu quodam litura & confusio in voce צביו semper? & sic de reliquis: ut נערה scribitur in נער in 22 locis, semel נערה; idem dicendum de עפוליים, ישכבנה, ישגלנה, טחוריים. Sed res ipsa non est secundum id quod imaginantur sapientes: ideoque propitietur illis Deus.

X. Contendit itaque veritatem hujus rei penes se esse: nempe Ezram & cœtum ejus invenisse libros perfectos & integros; &, antequam ausus esset addere puncta & accentus & sophasuk, ipsum inspexisse textum; & verba, quæ videbantur illi *irregularia* secundum naturam linguæ & consensum historiæ, existimabat apud se quod fuerit hoc necessario propter unam harum duarum causarum. Aut quod scriptor intendebat in verbis anomalis istis e secretis quæ latent in lege; ideoque non extendit manum suam expungere quid e libris divinis, quia intellexit bene ex suo sensu, quod sapientia excellenti conscripti fuerunt sic: aut quod propter aliquam specialem causam scriptæ fuerunt per literas *deficientes &*
redun-

redundantes & phrafi anomala. Ideoque reliquit eas scriptas in textu quemadmodum scribuntur; veruntamen posuit in margine ipsum Keri, quod est *interpretatio* scripturæ anomalæ istius secundum naturam linguæ & literalem sensum: & hujus generis invenies omne Keri & Cetib, quæ sunt in Lege.

XI. Possibile est, Ezram putasse, quod fuerunt in libris sanctis dictiones & voces, quæ non scribebantur sic per anomaliam suam, sed propter aliquam certam causam; aut propterea quod qui loquebatur illa *non fuit expertus in grammatica*, quemadmodum deicit; aut propter abbreviationem scientiæ grammatices conscripta, & istud fuisse a propheta per *ignorantiam* quæ exiit coram principe. Ideoque necesse fuit exponere veritatem dictionis istius secundum historiam. Et hoc est significatum ipsius Keri, quod posuit in margine; quoniam timuit scriba sanctus extendere manum ad verba eorum qui loquuntur (ברוך הקודש) per Spiritum sanctum, & ad eorum scripta. Hoc autem fecit ex proprio sensu, hoc est, ut exponeret dictionem & vocem istam: posuerunt autem in margine, ut esset *interpretatio*; nam illa interpretatio est ex se. Et non est dubium, quin sic acceperunt a prophetis & sapientibus generationis ejus, quæ præcessit eum. Et ecce multa e Keri & Cetib, in libro Jeremiæ, sunt hujus generis; scripsit illa Jeremias per *errorem & ignorantiam*: & est Keri *expositio*. Et sic est Cetib & Keri; quum viderit Ezra voces scriptas non significare secundum literalem sensum: ideoque non apposuit illis puncta omnino, neque legebat. Et hinc scias; quod libris, quibus incidit multa hujusmodi, istud evenisse propter defectum loquentis in scientia phrasium linguæ, vel in scientia grammatices scripturæ. Ideoque sunt in libris Jeremiæ 81 Keri & Cetib, & in libro Samuelis (quem scripsit Jeremias) sunt 133. Sed in lege Dei, quæ est quadruplo major libro Jeremiæ, non sunt Keri & Cetib nisi 65. Huc usque sermo ejus. Et sic progreditur; & numerat, quot Keri & Cetib occurrunt in quolibet libro, ut ostendat quis fuerit e prophetis magis exercitatus in grammatica hujus linguæ.

XII. Responsiones autem ejus mihi minime placent; quemadmodum ostendero, quum disputavero contra illum. Veruntamen dubitationes ejus, quæ movit contra Kimchium & Ephodæum,

dæum, bonæ sunt & rectæ. Et quum respondero responsionibus ejus, reprehendentur etiam illi, quoniam omnes istæ sunt solutiones dubiorum; & opinio Kimchi & Ephodæi in universum sunt ex conjectura. Nos autem non habemus præter Talmud nostrum, quod accepimus pro nobis (Anglice, *taken upon us to follow*) quoniam cor antiquorum est quasi *porta Ulam*; illi sunt veraces. Dico cum Abarbanele, quod Ezra & focii ejus invenerunt libros Legis perfectos & integros, quemadmodum scripti fuerunt in initio. Sed id quod dicit, quod Keri est commentarius scripturæ anomalæ, non est verum. R. Isaac dicit, Lectio & emendatio scribarum, & lectio quæ legitur & (non) scribitur, & scriptio quæ scribitur & non legitur, statutum est Mosi in Sinai. Lectio scribarum, ut ארץ שמים מצרים. Emendatio scribarum, ut קדמו שרים אחר; & אחר תלך; & אחר תאסף; & אחר תעבור; & נונים; & צדקתך כדורי אל. Leguntur hæc, & non scribuntur; כאשר ישאל איש בדבר איש in versu; בלכתו איש in versu; האלהים; item באים in versu; נבנתה; item לה in versu; פליטה; item השעורים. Hæc autem scribuntur, & non leguntur; יסלח in versu; נא; item את in versu; חמש; item חמור; item ידיוך; item המצוה; item פאת נב; item כי נואל. Hucusque Gemara. את in versu; המצוה; *sunt qui dicunt* esse in Parasha אלה; sed non est verum. Nam non invenitur in nostris libris; item Masora non facit mentionem ejus. Veruntamen in Masora recensentur omnia hæc; & præterea addidit illis plura alia: attamen non meminit את capituli המצוה, sed את הנפש, quod scriptum reperitur in Jeremia, *Vivet Dominus, qui fecit nobis* את הנפש. Et R. S. Jarchi interpretatur את in versu המצוה, quod scribitur in Jeremia. Hucusque ille.

XIII. Ecce colligimus, quod tradita fuerunt Mosi in Sinai; & Ezram non posuisse Keri, ut esset interpretatio; & quod non videbatur ei, *anomaliam esse*; quod absit: neque fuerunt ei dubia, neque confusa; sed omnia ea fuerunt tradita Mosi. Et rursus difficile est illud in oculis, quod dicit: Et sic quemadmodum invenit Ezra scriptum in lege בעפולים, quod significationem habet illa; neque enim novimus, quid sunt הגבוהים; & illa;

neceſſe eſt exponere per Keri, quod ſunt **שְׁבוּלָה** : & ſic **שְׁבוּלָה**, quia **שְׁבוּלָה** dicitur de regina, exponitur in Keri per **שְׁבוּלָה**. Hucuf. que ille. Non eſt autem ſecundum verba ejus. Rabbinī aperte docent; quod textus, ſcripti in lege in verbis minus honeſtis, leguntur in verbis honeſtis. Quum princeps Abarbanel dicit, quod qui locuti ſunt non fuerunt experti in grammatica; miramur, quod verbum hoc exiit ex ore hominis tantæ opinionis. Num quis exiſtimare poterit, *Prophetas inexpertes* fuiſſe in hiſce omnibus? Sin vero ita fuerit; tum ille fuit doctior illis, in grammatica Hebraica. Non vivam, ſi credidero hoc. Sin autem fuerit per ignorantiam; quare propheta, aut ille qui loquutus eſt per Spiritum ſanctum, non correxerunt errata? Fierine poteſt, ut *error* incidat in libro Jeremiæ 81 vices, & in Samuele circiter 133; ut propheta inſignis incidat in errores hujusmodi? Concluſio eſt; videtur, quod abſit, quod Abarbanel nunquam viderit ipſum Gemara. Nam ſecundum Talmud non relucet id quod dicit; i. e. contrariatur ipſi Talmud, vel non eſt ejuſdem ſententiæ cum illo. Sed fortasſe fuerit ille ſpiritus alterius, & non latuit illum (quod Deus avertat) Talmud. Si quis dicat, Hoc non invenimus in Talmud, nempe Keri & Cetib, item Ittur ſopherim &c. ſed id quod recenſetur in Gemara, recenſetur in Maſora totum hoc, & præterea adduntur plura alia: dicam, quod id quod recenſetur in Gemara, id omne eſſe *traditum Moſi*, reliqua non. Et certum eſt, quod in Maſora recenſetur totum hoc, & adduntur eis plura alia: & adduntur etiam alia quam quæ occurrunt in tractatu **סופרים**.

XIV. Dicit R. SIMEON: Tres libri inventi fuerunt in (ab) Ezra. In uno invenerunt **במעון אלהי**, in duobus **מעונה אלהי**; confirmarunt *duo*, & rejecerunt *unum*. In uno **ואל ועשושי בני ירו** in duobus vero --- **ואל אצילי בני ירו**; reſervarunt *duo*, & rejecerunt *unum*. Hucufque ille.

XV. Si autem hæc res ita fit (ut dicit Abarbanel) quod ideo non extenderet manum ſuam Ezra ad expungendum quicquam e libris Dei, quoniam intellexit ex ſua opinione, quod ſapienter ſcripta fuerunt; non poterit evadere unam harum differentiarum — Aut quod ipſe noverit illa fuiſſe tradita a Moſe; aut quod fuerunt dubitationes, uti exponit Kimchi & Ephodæus. Si dixeris,

eris, ipsum non novisse quod fuerunt data Mosi; quare non expunxit, & sequutus est majorem partem; quoniam in tribus libris, qui inventi fuerunt apud Ezram, sequebantur majorem partem? Sin autem dixeris omnes fuisse similes; & ideo prohibebatur, ne attingeret eos ut expungeret quicquam, sed posuit Keri in margine: si res ita sit, doceat nos quomodo legitur in libro Legis; quum prohibitum est legere vel unam tantum literam, quæ non est in Scriptura. Quis poterit ascendere in cor, ut legeretur ipsum Keri (quod est emendatio Ezræ, ut esset expositio anomalie quæ erat scripta in textu, secundum opinionem ejus) & relinqueremus Scripturam, quæ scripta erat per digitum Dei? Sed esto: tamen est necessum nobis dicere, quod omnia ista tradita fuerunt Mosi in Sinai.

XVI. Insuper rogabat quidam a R. Samuele, Quomodo licitum est legere quod non est in scriptura? Respondebat; Quod interrogasti, quomodo minister congregationis legat *yiscabennab*, quum scribitur *yiscalennab*, & in reliquis vocibus quibus accidit Keri & Cetib; quoniam ea omnia scripta sunt secundum Masoram, & non secundum Keri --- responsio est: Ista sunt tradita Mosi; & in posterum est nulla dubitatio. Quanquam venerint in lege *sapissime Keri & Cetib*, præter ea, quæ occurrunt in *Talmud*; sin autem fuerint dubitationes, quomodo non recensentur illa cum his qui inveniuntur in tractatu *sopherim*? Quoniam non numerat, nisi tria. Si ita sit, reliqua omnia fuerunt dubitationes; & si dubitationes erant, ipse secutus esset majorem partem exemplorum, quemadmodum sequebatur in istis tractatus *sopherim*; neque affixus esset his, quæ sunt in margine.

XVII. Necessè est ut concedas; aut quod fuerunt tradita Mosi, & revelata sunt ei (Ezræ) aut quod non revelata sunt ei, quod sic tradita fuerunt Mosi. Si non ita revelata sunt, ipse novit certo certius, quod sic necessario oportet fieri; quoniam sic acceperunt a prophetis. Quid est igitur quod affirmat Abarbanel; quod timuit Ezra scriba sanctus immittere manum in verba eorum, qui loquebantur per Sp. Sanctum? Et rursus hoc difficile est; si acceperint a prophetis & sapientibus istius generationis; quare non ea correxerunt ipsi prophetæ & sapientes istius generationis?

Audivisti ipsum loquentem : ita oportet non credere pro certo quemadmodum statuit Rabbinus magnus. Concludimus, ex omnibus istis, quod Keri & Cetib, & omnes consuetudines Masoræ, sint ex traditionibus earum, quæ datæ sunt Mosi in Sinai ; sicut legimus in Talmud.

XVIII. Veruntamen invenimus in multis locis, quod Talmud contrariatur ipsi Masoræ : ut invenimus in tractatu *Niddah*, in sectione *Benoth Cuthim* — juxta hunc versum ; *Lev. 15, 10, הנשא qui portabit ; הנשא* autem scribitur, cum defectu *Vau*. Additiones vero quæstionem movent ; Mirum est, quod in Masora hoc vocabulum plene scribitur. Sed respondent, quod Talmud contrarium Masoræ : quemadmodum invenimus in tractatu *De Sabbato*, in sectione *Bamah behemah*, juxta hoc *fili Eli mabrim* ; scribitur מעבירים. Hæc autem sunt verba Gemaræ ibi ; Dicit R. Hauna, מעבירים scribitur. Hucusque ille.

XIX. R. S. JARCHI dicit : Miror valde de sapiente illo, de quo mentio facta est in hoc loco ; nam dico, quod est magnus error, & non revelatur ei res hæc. Quoniam ecce in libris correctioribus scribitur מעבירים plene. Et in Masora magna, in loco ubi numerant omnes dictiones, in quibus est *Yod* quod non legitur, non numeratur hoc : illi tamen numerant notis arithmeticiis. Hoc autem est præter propositum quæstionis ; propterea quod מעבירים non habet sensum (עבירה) *transgressionis* : sed est ejusdem significationis cum במחנה ויעבירו קול במחנה *transire fecerunt vocem in castris*. — Ecce מעבירים est num. plur. & refertur ad *populum*, non ad *filios Eli* ; quoniam illi fuerunt עוברים *transgressores*, & non מעבירים. Hucusque verba ejus.

XX. Autor additionum scribit de hoc : Talmud, quem nos habemus, contrariatur libris quos habemus ; in quibus scriptum est מעבירים. Et sic invenimus in Talmud Hierusolymitano, de Samsone ; quod ille judicaret *Israelem 40 annos* : docens, quod Philistæi timebant illum 20 annos post mortem suam, quemadmodum timebant illum in vita sua. Quum in omnibus libris quos habemus scribitur 20 annos. Hucusque ille. Videtur autem mihi, quod nihil omnino pertinet ad quæstionem hoc de Samsone ; quoniam

quoniam Talmud intellexit secundum id quod est in Deras. Quare dicitur bis, quod judicabat Israellem 20 annos? Respondet R. Acha; Timebant eum 20 annos post mortem suam, & 20 alios in vita; quæ sunt 40 anni. Sed & ille judicabat Israellem 40 annos, per communem acceptationem (allegorice.) Nunc planum est: considera autem tu diligentius. Hucusque ille.

XXI. Miror autem R. S. Jarchi, qui fuit exercitatus in Masora, & opinio ejus est secundum sententiam autorum Masoræ (ut supra apparet juxta verba de filiis Eli) quæstionem movit e Masora contra R. Hauna; quum scribit, *Ego dico quod est error insignis* &c. Et ecce invenimus in multis locis, quod opinio ejus est non secundum sententiam autorum Masoræ; juxta hæc verba *וְפִלְגְשֵׁי הַפִּלְגְשִׁים* concubinarum; ut scribit in commentariis in Pentateuchum, quod in Cetib deficit *Yod*; quasi non fuerit ei nisi una פלגש concubina; illa autem fuit Hagar, quæ eadem cum Keturah. Hic autem secutus est Berefhith Rabba. Et sic in hoc loco: *וְכָל הַיּוֹם* scribitur כלת. Hucusque ille. Et certe manifestum est, quod scribitur in Masora *הַפִּלְגְשִׁים* bis plene: unum est hoc ipsum, de quo modo: & alterum est, per manum Hagai custodis *הַפִּלְגְשִׁים*: & sic, in die כלת Mosi, scribitur in Masora parva, Non plene. Et rursus invenimus, quod ipse explicat (in expositione Pentateuchi in Parasha וַתִּתֵּן) *postes domus*; מוזות scribitur, quia non est necessarium ut sit plus una. Et miror propterea, quod in Masora est scriptum plene מוזות.

XXII. R. S. Jarchi, loco כַּשְׁמֶשׁ, legit בְּשִׁמְיָי כַּשְׁמֶשׁ: nos vero legimus sicut Masora magna, & non sicut Jarchi. Insuper in tractatu *Menachoth*, R. S. Jarchi non contrariatur ipsi Talmud; quod tamen adversatur libris *correctioribus*. In sectione שמע ויהי אֵם scriptum est לַשִּׁמְשׁ; at in sectione ויהי כי יבא scribitur ולַשִּׁמְשׁ; sed inter פ & ת non scribitur *Vaw*. Sed ego vidi in libro *Taghi* antiquissimo, quod etiam in priore sectione scriptum est לַשִּׁמְשׁ; sed inter פ & ת non scribitur *Vaw*: contra לַשִּׁמְשׁ, quod in Gemara, in posteriore sectione; sed in libris *correctioribus*, non *Vaw* inter פ & ת. Miramur, quomodo duo intelligantur! Quod si velimus, dicere, servari regulam

regulam subtrahendi adjiciendi & exponendi; bene est: sed non invenimus, quod hoc licitum est, nisi in initio aut fine dictionis. *Consuetudo fuit Talmudistarum, contradicere aliquoties autoribus Masoræ.* Et in *Beresbith Rabba* inveni שרץ. Dicit R. Aëdai, quod scribitur שרץ sine י, intelligens Potipharem. Hoc autem dubitare me facit; quod non invenitur in ullis libris, quod sit hoc loco ullus defectus: & respondeo iterum, *Talmud contradicere Masoritis certis in locis.*

XXIII. Est mirandum valde, quod invenimus, R. S. Jarchium & Saadium illustrem proferre quædam Keri & Cetib, quæ non inveniuntur in ullis libris Masoritarum. Jarchi scribit, quod in hoc versu psalmorum (*qui descendere facit populum meum תחת ידי* subter me) in libro suo Keri fuit תחת ידי & Cetib תחת ידי: ego vero, diligenter scrutatus, non invenio in Masora magna. Et Saadiah, in fine Danielis (in versu *Et venit rex e septentrione, & struxit aggerem, & cepit civitatem*) facit Keri & Cetib in dictione מבעריו & מבחריו: quæsiivi autem in libris Masoræ, inter omnes literas permutatas, neque tamen hoc inveni. Mirari satis non potero, quomodo fieri possit ut Masora abscondatur ab hujusmodi illustribus viris: quoniam in Masora, quam nos habemus, est plane erratum. Veruntamen fateor illos fuisse magis exercitatos in omnibus dictionibus hujusmodi quam nos; & nos sumus quasi cæci in fenestra, respectu illorum.

XXIV. Dubitavi multoties de hoc, postquam observassem solitum esse *Talmudistis contradicere Masoritis*, quemadmodum declaravimus supra in plenis & defectivis; secundum quam opinionem scribimus librum legis: quod enim est *rectum huic* est *profanum isti*. Impræmeditatus respondeo; Quod secundum Talmud, quod nos habemus, scribimus librum legis; quoniam hoc est quod recepimus in nos observare, & illi fuerunt magis experti in Masora quam nos sumus. Veruntamen vidimus, quod Jarchi argumentatur ex Masora contra Talmud nostrum; & dicit, quod erratum est id quod reperitur in Gemara. Et autores etiam additamentorum ratiocinantur ex Masora contra Talmud nostrum; & faciunt fundamentum e Masora. Si autem Masora non fuerit fundamentum, non moverent quæstiones ex ea contra Talmud. Intelligimus

mus ex eo; quod omnes libri, & *emendatio* librorum legis in universum facienda est *ex sententia Masoritarum*. Etenim viri synagogæ magnæ magni fuerunt, ita ut confidere liceat illis. Etiam si in locis aliis quæstio movetur ex Masora contra Talmud. Sic mihi videtur.

XXV. Sed nulla est omnino ratio, quare dubitarent Hæretici, nos immutasse aliquid in lege, propter id quod viderunt *Ittur sopherim* & *Tikkun sopherim*, & *Keri* & *Cetib* &c. Res autem est, ut mihi videtur, quod in initio homines plebei non fuerunt probe instructi in S. S. ideoque legebant ואחר [Gen. 18, 5] ואחר [Ps. 68, 24] ומשפטך [Ps. 36, 7:] fuerunt decepti in his verbis tempore illo; & putarunt quod esset secundum rectas grammaticæ leges. Sed venerunt scribæ, & sustulerunt ista *Vaw*, & legebant אחר & משפטך. Et quum videbant, quod scribæ sustulissent ista *Vaw*; vocarunt ista vocabula *Ittur sopherim*. Tum venit R. Isaac, & docuit nos, quod fuerunt tradita Mosi. Et usque ad generationes proximas huic nostræ ætati laici fuerunt decepti; & legebant (Exod. 23, 13.) ולא ישמע על פיך [&] non audietur ex ore tuo: at scribæ docebant, hoc non debere legi cum *Vaw*. Hucusque verba ejus.

XXVI. Ecce autem vides, quod non mutaverimus quicquam; quod Deus prohibeat (si fuisset in animo eorum quicquam immutasse, non revelassent, nec dixissent, 18 esse voces *Tikkun sopherim*) & insuper quod scribæ nihil immutarunt (quod Deus avertat) neque emendarunt; tantum indicarunt quod conveniret scripturæ ita loqui. Sed propterea quod immutavit quod scriptum erat propter gloriam majestatis divinæ. Considera autem tu; & quæras, moneo. Pari ratione in *Keri* & *Cetib*; ecce ostenderunt quid mutarunt, si velis dicere quod immutarunt quicquam: quod Deus prohibeat. Sed nos, quum sumus ex cœtu credentium, credimus quod sint omnia tradita Mosi in Sinai. Et sic etiam in *Tikkun sopherim*; etiam si diceres, quod scribæ emendarunt quicquam: neque prodest neque obest mihi in re quaquam, quid hæretici garriunt. Inspice diligentius historiam Ptolomæi regis, nempe in 13 locos quos illi immutarunt; quoniam expresse indicarunt quare immutarunt illa: & quicquid immutabant
fuit

fuit in eo quod ipsi scribebant. Conclusio est in hac re, nihil habent quod loquantur contra.

XXVII. Si non fuissent viri Synagogæ magnæ, qui reducerunt coronam antiquitati, ambulassemus sicut cæci; neque invenissemus librum probe correctum, neque librum legis cui possumus inniti. Ex. gr. si dictio quædam sit cum *1* vel sine *1*; non poterimus scire, utra harum verior; ni existeret Masora. Et si non extaret autor Masoræ, quomodo poterimus scire, num verum vel falsum? Et sic in eis, quæ plene & quæ defective scribuntur; quoniam est nobis mater Textus & mater Masora. Veruntamen controversia est, utra harum viarum faciamus fundamentum. — Quum Masora adducit notam in lingua Targum, est in eo causa oblata ad investigandum & intelligendum. Ideoque omnia quæ potui invenire & colligere ex illis, in omnibus libris Masoræ quos habui, omnia ea collegi & posui in 24, istis in locis quibus conveniebant. Et circuivi, & correxi in Masora majori, ut facile invenirentur. Et si valuissem prolongare & producere omnes utilitates Masoræ, & argumenta eorum; esset prolixitas multa, & meditatio multa, & defatigatio carnis.

XXVIII. Quam autem vidissem utilitatem magnam, quæ consequitur e Masora majori & minori, & Masora rabbatha; revelavi aurem domini Dan. Bombergi (custodiat illum rupes mea & redemptor meus!) & ostendi illi utilitatem quæ consequitur ex ea; tum adhibuit omnes vires facultatis suæ, ut mitteret in omnes regiones, ad investigandum omnia quæcunque inveniri poterant de Masora. Et tandem (laus Deo!) devolvebatur [נרגלגלו *devolvebantur*] ad manus nostras quidam e libris Masoræ, quicquid poterat revelari. Et dominus prædictus non fuit piger, & manum suam non contraxit, & dextram suam non reduxit retrorsum a stiljando aurum e crumena sua, quin educeret possessionem librorum; & legati diligentes essent ad investigandum eos in foraminibus, & fissuris, & in omnibus locis ubi essent.

XXIX. Postquam vero inspexissem in libros Masoræ, & diligentius considerassem, *vidi illos confusos valde & conturbatos; adeo ut non fuit in illis locus, ubi non fuit aliqua corruptio* [non domus, in qua non ibi mortuus:] hoc est, versus quos adducit autor Masoræ,

foræ, & confusio magna quæ fuit in illis. Quoniam isti libri, in quibus Masora fuit circumscripta, non fuit Masora scripta secundum ordinem versuum, qui fuerunt in columna. Multi eorum fuerunt conscripti per *nodos*, & *figuras*; adeo ut non fuit possibile *intelligere per eos ullam rem*. Quoniam intentio scriptoris fuit, ut ornaret scriptionem suam; & non ut intelligeremus illam. Et insuper in multis eorum, fuerunt in capite paginæ quasi quatuor lineæ, & infra circiter quinque: semper scriptor nolebat addere neque diminuere; dividebat in medio aut in capite; & sic abbreviabat multa, ut æquales faceret lineas suas.

XXX. Cum autem vidissem *totam banc confusionem*, excussi finem meum in initio, ut ponerem omnem Masoram juxta ordinem versuum. Et postea perquisivi per libros Masoræ, quos habui compactos seorsim, præter id quod fuit scriptum in circuitu Textus. In locis vero, ubi erat interstitium factum a scriptore, aut abbreviatio; quæsi in voluminibus Masoræ, & ordinavi illos juxta id quod decebat. In locis autem ubi invenerim discrimen inter libros Masoræ, *bunc nempe dicentem sic, illum vero dicentem sic*; adduxi opiniones utriusque. Sic enim invenitur scriptum circa textum hujus, quem impressimus in Masora punctatum propter discrimen; propterea quod non esset e lingua autoris Masoræ. Et sic in locis ubi fuerat difficultas mihi, propter verba unius libri e Masora, quum non inveniretur secundum verba ejus in multis libris; & in Masora alia, forma alia: nec tamen fuerat difficile; aut in locis aliquibus, ubi fuerat *sibi ipsi contrarium*, aut fuerat *erratum*, investigabam usque dum invenissem veritatem, *secundum paupertatem opinionis meæ*: & in aliquibus locis *reliqui rem in dubio*. Et sic multæ species declarationum; quemadmodum inveniet scriptas circa 24 hos (libros) quos impressimus. Deus autem novit, quantos labores sustulerim propter hoc: & jam hoc manifestum est unicuique, qui vidit me occupatum in eo. In correctione autem versuum, non fuit possibile ut corrigerem; nisi cognorim omnes 24 memoriter, & hoc latet me. Et nisi extaret concordantia R. Is. Nathanis, non fuit possibile ut imprimeretur Masora. Cum Masora esset perfecta, coactus fui emendare & componere postea Masoreth majus; quod non fuit possibile

imprimere illud circa aliquem librum, quia est in quantitate sua magna : & ordinavi illud secundum ordinem Aruc.

XXXI. Ecce non prohibetur a me, in omni potestate mea facultatis meæ, emendare Masoram in omnibus emendationibus *quæ possibile fuit* ; ut relinqueremus illam puram & purgatam ; & ut ostenderem populis & principibus pulchritudinem, quoniam bona aspectu est ; & hoc, propter diligentes utilitatem fratrum nostrorum & decus Legis nostræ sanctæ ; & (propter) impletionem desiderii domini D. Bombergi, quantum possibile fuit : nihilominus *desiderium ejus fuit majus quam quod assequi potuero*. Et sic in expositionibus posui omnem valentiam meam virium mearum, ut *corrigerem quæ corrupta fuerunt, quantum assequi poterat tenuitas meæ opinionis*. Et reversus sum retrorsum propter laborem tantum ; quoniam somnium oculis meis non dedi, ut satisfacerem illis, vel in hyeme vel in æstate : neque enim dolui surgere in nocte propter frigus ; & præterea : quoniam desiderium meum fuit, ut viderem finem operis sancti.

*Laudatur Creator, qui purgavit me, ut inciperem & perficerem.
Recordare mei, Deus mi, propter bonum. Amen.*

SUCH then is the Preface of R. Jacob B. Chaim ; and the observations upon it, more particularly relative to our present purpose, may be such as follow.

1. That this celebrated Jewish critic (and most other Jewish critics agree with him in the same opinion) lays his foundation in the (suppos'd) extraordinary knowledge, illumination, and inspiration of *the men of the great Synagogue* ; * whose decrees he considers as

* *Virorum synagogæ magnæ præcipui* 12 ; Aggeus, Zacharias, Malachias, Zorobabel, Mardocheus, Esdras, Jesusas, Saraias, Regalias,

infallible, and of sovereign authority. See the preceding sections --- 1, 27.

2. That he supposes these men, thus illuminated and inspir'd, to have been the authors of the *Masora*; i. e. of that particular enumeration of the chapters, and verses, and words, and letters, with the marginal notes and other remarks, now commonly known by the name of *Masora*, or *Tradition*. Sect. 1, 24, 27.

3. That this *Masora* was thought by B. Chaim the grand *preservative*, or *restorer*, of sacred truth; the sure and only rule for ascertaining the genuine readings in the Heb. text of the old Testament. Sect. 1, 4, 12, 24, 27.

4. That the *Masora*, thus highly extoll'd by B. Chaim (and by others of the later Jewish writers) is here ingenuously own'd to have been slighted, and its usefulness denied, by several wise Jews then living. Sect. 4, 21.

5. That this *Masora* appears from B. Chaim

galias, Masapher, Rebum, Nebemias. His scribunt adscitos fuisse alios, ita ut numerum 120 complerent: cui cæteri omnia deliria sua, quæ pudet ad Moſen referre, audacter imputant. Omnes eos eodem tempore vixiſſe, volunt; & illorum plures ad tempora Alexandri perveniſſe: quanquam e captivitate Babylonica omnes liberati Hieruſalem petierint. Morinus, de integritate &c. p. 247. So that moſt of the members of this traditionary ſynagogue, according to the preceding wild notion, liv'd each about 200 years!

to have been in a state of remarkable corruption and confusion, as well as of neglect and contempt: some parts of it not being to be procur'd, after very diligent enquiry; and those parts, which were collected, proving so self-contradictory in some places, so greatly corrupted in many other places, and wanting so very much reformation, that even this learned and indefatigable editor of it found himself absolutely incapable of correcting it thoroughly. Sect. 4, 28, 29, 30, 31.

6. That the marginal notes, call'd *Keri*, were very different in different copies: some having *more* than were mention'd in the *Talmud* (sect. 12, 16) and others having more than were mention'd in the *Masora* (sect. 21, 23) --- that some Jews consider'd the *Keri* only as *explanatory* (sect. 10, 11) --- others held them to be *various readings*; and these, either *certainly better*, or *possibly better*, than the readings in the text (sect. 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 16) --- whilst others agreed with B. Chaim, in calling them by no name, nor determining any thing at all about them, excepting, that *they were all deliver'd to Moses upon Sinai*. For they seem to have thought, that by fathering these differences upon their Legislator, they should at once get rid of all doubt and difficulty

difficulty concerning them. Sect. 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 25, 26.

7. That B. Chaim was exceedingly embarrassed, in labouring to reconcile his two great authorities, which were found very contradictory (sect. 6, 18, 19, 20, 22) --- the *Talmud*, tho' allow'd to be *the rule of right* (sect. 12, 24) frequently contradicting the *Masora*: and consequently the *Masora*, tho' allow'd also to be *the rule of right* (sect. 12, 22, 24) as frequently contradicting the *Talmud*.

8. That some of the Rabbins have declar'd, that when their sacred copies were formerly found to differ; the way, in which they were corrected, was to prefer those readings which were countenanc'd by *the greater number of copies* (sect. 8, 14, 15) --- and that B. Chaim himself allows, that formerly their sacred books were transcrib'd by common and ignorant men, who made mistakes; which mistakes were afterwards corrected: adding, that some other alterations had been made by the scribes. Sect. 25, 26.

9. That the words of the Heb. copies, quoted in the *Talmud* and in other *ancient* Jewish writings, differ'd in many instances from the words found in the *later* Heb. copies. Sect. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.

10. That

10. That, as the Jews generally allow Ezra to have corrected many errors, which crept into their sacred books during the troubles and distresses of their captivity; so Ephodæus allows, that *other errors were admitted afterwards, which were corrected by other succeeding scribes, as accurately as they were able.* Sect. 5, 7, 21, 22.

11. That B. Chaim, often speaking (as other Jews do) of some copies being *more correct* and others *less correct*, of some words as *legitimate* and others as *prohibited*, thereby allows --- that their transcribers did err, and that their MSS did contain mistakes; but that *some MSS had fewer mistakes than others, or were more properly corrected.* And that their copies did vary *very frequently*, is also manifestly implied in this question of B. Chaim --- *Si non extaret Masora, quomodo poterimus scire num verum vel falsum?* The same may be inferr'd also from his assertion in the words following --- *Sine Masora impossibile est scribere libros recte & emendate.* Sect. 2, 4, 19, 22, 27.

12. Lastly: that B. Chaim talks of being satisfied in doubtful cases, by finding two or three of the more correct copies, which agreed in the same readings: (sect. 2) --- and, where his authorities differ'd, that he *endeavour'd to select*

select the better reading (sect. 6) --- and thus, that *his own opinion* was, after all, forc'd to determine, in a case of this great importance; in a case, where (he tells us) it was the opinion of the enthusiastic R. Ismael, that *to omit or insert improperly a single letter, would be to destroy the universe*. Sect. 2. In short --- that this editor represents his work as full of difficulty, and himself as under great distress, for fear of mistakes; which cannot be accounted for, if all the Heb. MSS, which he saw, agreed with one another and also with the ancient copies. And, as there could *then* have been neither difficulty, nor danger; his distress must have arisen from the many places, in which he found his MSS to differ from each other and from the quotations of their ancient writers. And, in a word; that the only guide he had, to direct his steps amidst these perilous variations, was THE MASORA.

From the whole therefore of the preceding Preface and Remarks we may now draw the following inferences --- that the Heb. MSS have not been transcrib'd, without their share of errors --- that the Jews themselves, tho' protesting against wilful corruptions, acknowledge many variations made involuntarily by the

the several transcribers --- that they anciently corrected one copy by another, and *the fewer* copies by *the more in number* --- but that, in later times, their great Rule for general correction, and for the reduction of all the disagreeing copies to an harmonious uniformity, was *their (imperfect and corrupted) MASORA*: consequently that *such Heb. MSS.*, as were *found* to agree most, or were *made* to agree most with this Masora, were reputed THE BEST; the nearest to original perfection, and the most proper to be perpetuated by *printing*: agreeably to the definitive maxim of B. Chaim, *Emendatio librorum in universum facienda est ex sententia Masoritarum* --- SIC MIHI VIDETUR.

Upon an enquiry of this nature, Whether the present copies of the Heb. Text have, or have not, been deliver'd down in one uniform and uncorrupted state; it must be of consequence, to refer to the ancient Jewish writers, and compare the Heb. texts as quoted in their writings with the same texts as now printed. In this view, THE ANCIENT JEWISH WRITERS will hold the same rank of utility, as to the *old* Testament, which THE CHRISTIAN FATHERS maintain as to the *new*. And it may

may be remark'd, with regard to both; that where they evidently meant to give *the words* (and not *merely the sense*) of Scripture; there such quotations (no doubt) agreed with their ancient sacred copies: which sacred copies may have suffer'd many alterations from transcribers since, and in the very passages thus quoted. If so; the quotations in such *ancient* writers must now differ from the *modern* sacred copies: unless *such quotations* have been (by the later transcribers of *them*) assimilated and render'd conformable to the later sacred copies. But then; tho' we may, thro' this unholy zeal, be depriv'd of some various readings, both in the Jewish Rabbins and in the Christian Fathers; yet where the quotations now differ from the modern sacred copies, such quotations are of sufficient consequence to engage our attention.

The consideration of this point, tho' of great use as to the new Testament, where many errors of the transcribers are *allow'd*; will be of much greater use as to the old Testament, where such errors have been peremptorily *denied*: and where it has been passionately insisted upon, in favour of the Integrity of the present Text, that *no instances could be produc'd of any texts quoted by ancient Jewish*

H h

writers,

writers, where the words differ'd from the modern sacred copies. Ben Chaim, in his Preface, has furnish'd several proofs of such variations; even now subsisting, in the Talmud itself, and in other ancient books of the Jews. And, as I apprehend this point to be of no small importance; I shall confirm *his* authority by a few extracts from CLAUDIUS CAPPELLANUS, an author already mention'd (pag. 227) whose little book is expressly upon this subject. It is call'd *Mare Rabbinicum infidum*; Paris 1667: and it undertakes to prove --- *Quod Talmudistæ & Rabbinis aliter aliquando referunt sacrum contextum, quam nunc se habeat in nostris exemplaribus Hebraicis; &, quod non est fidendum Rabbinis*. From this book (which is very scarce) I shall now select a few passages; such, as will not only furnish new evidence, and that in one or two articles particularly curious; but also prove a necessary supplement to B. Chaim's preface.

Pag. 3; Cappellanus asserts --- *plurimis varietatibus & mutationibus semper obnoxium fuisse Hebræum contextum, ut jam in confesso est apud omnes; quemque nunc habemus, a recentioribus Rabbinis traditum, nobis proinde suspectum esse debere, quin multum a primævo Hebræo recesserit: meque in ipso Judæorum Talmude reipsa depre-*

deprehendisse nonnulla scripturæ sacræ testimonia, quæ aliter se haberent, quam nunc se habeant in hodiernis ac vulgatis codicibus.

Pag. 49. Inquit Marcus Marinus --- Judæos depravatas scripturas habere, & in aliquibus potissimum locis ex scribarum inscitia id provenire, ut dicerem, me compulit duorum ex ipsismet Judæis testimonium.

Pag. 52. Si Masora, prout illam ab antiquioribus traditam accepimus, tot ipsa scatet mendis, erroribus & corruptelis; quomodo causa poterit esse sacri contextus integritatis? Si hoc constat de immani Judæorum incuria; quomodo constare nobis poterit de perpetua, ac prope nimia, illorum diligentia (ut ait Marinus) in scribendo sacro contextu?

Pag. 58. Abraham Bar Chia Hispanus, in libro de adventu Messiae (scrip. 1260) legit in Job. 7, 1, וְכִימִי קָצִיר יָמִי; ubi hodie Judæi constanter legunt שָׁכִיר.

Pag. 72. Kimchius in libro שְׁרָשִׁים (Radices) adducit nonnulla, quæ vel non inveniuntur, vel aliter leguntur in Bibliis: sicut videre licet in codicibus (Kimchii) Mtis; nam in impressis ablata sint a Judæis. Quod etiam fassus est quidam Samuel, in epistola sua ad finem hujus operis (Kimchii) in impressione Neapolitana, 1490; in qua dicit --- En ego inveni in hoc libro sen-

tentias, quæ non reperiuntur in Bibliis : nempe &c. Then, after nine instances of words either found different, or not found at all, in the modern sacred copies, Samuel (the editor of Kimchi's book) adds "*Et quia inveni hæc in omnibus (Kimchii) exemplaribus, nolui ea immutare, sed posui in fine operis, ut cognoscant omnes me non fuisse horum authorem.*" Ex hoc insigni Samuelis testimonio patet, illum non ausum has differentias tollere. Constat tamen Judæos alios, qui aliis editionibus præfuerunt, non dubitasse ea e toto libro ejicere ; ut hodie non compareant amplius in impressis, quamvis in omnibus exemplaribus Mtis. Cur hanc fraudem huic libro fecerint Judæi, aliam non possum suspicari causam, nisi quod --- ne Christiani inde petere possint, quæ manifeste arguerent mutationes & corruptiones sacri contextus in diversis exemplaribus Judaicis. Et certe ego contuli Mtum exemplar hujus libri Kimchii ; & comperi loca illa, quæ in Bibliis nostris jam non reperiuntur, extare in Mto, sed abesse ab impressis Kimchii exemplaribus. Mirum itaque non esset, si hodie nulla extarent vestigia apud Judæos variationum illarum Biblicarum ; cum hoc vel uno exemplo constat, eos quantum possunt (ad libitum mutando aut rescindendo ex ipsorum authoribus) studiose cavere, ne id deprehendi possit ipsisque
expro-

exprobrari. Ubi sunt igitur, qui Judæorum fidem, integritatem, religionem, diligentiam tantopere prædicant? Ecce eos fatentes, Ἐπ' αὐτοφωρεῶν deprehensos, sistimus.

Pag. 187. R. S. Jarchi says (see the preceding Preface, sect. 21) --- *Gravis mihi videtur hæc difficultas de sapiente illo (R. Hauna;) dico enim hoc esse mendum gravissimum, nec sic legendum illud vocabulum. Ecce enim in libris correctis Ἐ accuratis legitur מעבירים. --- Similiter Tosephoth fatentur hanc repugnantiam inter Talmud Ἐ contextum hodiernum Biblicum.*

Pag. 131. Cappellanus here considers the remarks of Buxtorf, in relation to these differences in the Jewish quotations; and shews him to have made *seven misrepresentations* upon this subject: particularly, as to the 40 years mention'd in the text quoted in the Talmud, where in the printed copies of the Heb. text the number is only 20.

Pag. 193. The preceding variation is here, and in the following pages, consider'd at large: the Talmud from some old Heb. copy or copies (*Jud. 15, 20*) saying, that *Samson judged Israel 40 years*; where the present copies of *Judges* speak only of 20 years. Upon this point he says --- *Insignis hæc est discrepantia dictionis integræ. In eo enim codice, quo utebantur*

bantur illi doctores Hierosolymitani, scriptum erat Samsonem judicasse populum 40 annis, in fine cap. 15 Judicum: quod repugnat hodiernæ lectioni, & alteri textui capitis 16; ubi repetitur, regnasse 20 annis. Quidam Rabbini tam manifestam repugnantiam agnoscere non dubitarunt. Alii tamen mendaciis & ineptis explicationibus hunc nodum solvere conati sunt. Kimchius, insigni fallacia, huic difficultati fucum facit; ut lectores suos in errorem inducat. Kimchium secuti sunt Rabbini multi recentiores. Nec aliter B. Chaim in præfatione; qui, licet agnoscat Talmud pugnare adversus Masoram seu textum hodiernum, ait se nullum hic pati difficultatem, quia hoc de Samfone intelligi debet allegorice, eo quod his repeterentur 20 anni in sacro contextu; cum Talmud non dixerit scriptum esse, Samsonem judicasse Israelem 40 annis. Sed hoc nihil aliud est, quam mendacium mendacio tueri. Expresse enim habetur, ita fuisse scriptum in illo (sacro) codice, quo utebantur illi Hierosolymitani doctores, his verbis כתוב אחד וישפוט ישראל ארבעים שנה i. e. UNA SCRIPTURA DICIT (unus locus scripturæ refert) ET JUDICAVIT ISRAELEM 40 ANNIS.

Pag. 232. Buxtorfius in Lexico Biblico, ad vocem ראות, sic loquitur de 2 Paralipom. 26, 5; המבין בראת האלהים intelligens in visionibus

bus Dei --- "Notatum a doctis, in Mto antiquissimo Palatino esse בִּירְאָה in timore Dei, "i. e. in rebus ad timorem Dei pertinentibus. "Sic quoque legitur & explicatur in R. Salomone; & sic concordantiæ Hebraicæ adducunt illud in radice יִרָא non in רִאָה: his "addo veteres Talmudicos, apud quos similiter scriptum reperi בִּירְאָה, cod. Sotah cap. 9."

In quibus maxime observandum existimo, non tantum ita adduxisse Talmud hoc verbum, alio modo quam se habeat in hodiernis exemplaribus Biblicis; verum etiam ita legisse R. S. Jarchi & R. Nathan, & ita etiam nunc habere Mtum vetustissimum Palatinum. Et si velis adire ipsum Talmudis locum, advertes varietatem alteram; & loco הַמְבִּיאִין הַמְבִּין בִּירְאָה, reperies המביאין בִּירְאָה (inducentes in timorem) cum additione 3 litterarum, quæ alium omnino sensum efficiunt. An fuit igitur defectus memoriæ in R. Salomone, & R. Nathan, & in Talmudistis, & in scriptore illius Mti Palatini? An tot authores potuere in eadem voce, eodem memoriæ lapsu, quasi de condicito, pariter hallucinari; nisi verum esset, eorum exemplaria hoc in loco a nostris fuisse diversa? In cujus rei confirmationem addam & ego, longe ante R. Jarchi & Nathan & Talmud, non aliter habuisse in suis etiam exemplaribus LXX interpretes --- εν ταις ημεραις Ζαχαριου

τα σωιοντος εν Φελεω Κυρις, & juxta hanc lectionem
se habent etiam Arabica & Syriaca.

Pag. 229. Ex quibus jam merito possumus
concludere, Hebræos (olim) multa scripturæ
loca adduxisse alio modo, quam nunc habeantur;
ac proinde illorum exemplaria in illis locis, variis
temporibus, varia fuisse: neque Cappellum, qui
innumeras alias varietates aliunde expiscatus fue-
rat, falso asseruisse --- etiam aliquas in Talmude
reperiri posse.

I hope, that these several quotations appear
to the reader to be expressly in point, and of
moment sufficient to incline him to peruse
attentively a few others. For this head of en-
quiry will be still imperfect, without the fol-
lowing sentences, extracted from a valuable
book *de Hebræi & Græci textus sinceritate*,
publish'd by the very learned MORINUS.

Pag. 561. Manifestum est, quicquid juniores
Judæi prædicant de Masora, quod antiqui Ju-
dæi libros suos sacros mendis purgare consueve-
runt, omnium aliarum gentium more, codices co-
dicibus comparando; & lectiones quæ plurimum
codicum consensu confirmabantur admittendo, cæ-
teras rejiciendo. --- Notare te velim, omnes an-
tiquissimos & antiquos Judæos, Masoretasque,
fundamenti loco substernere, velut rem ab omni-
bus

bus probatam & confessam, mendas & corruptelas in sacrum textum sæpe irrepere, ideoque opus esse nonnunquam illum diligenter recensere & ab iis purgare. --- Talmud Hierosolymitanum, in tract. Jejuniorum, hæc refert. In uno libro apud Ezram scriptum fuit מעון (Deut. 23, 27) in duobus מעונות: duos ratos habuerunt, quod autem erat in unico scriptum expunxerunt. In uno deprehenderunt scriptum (Exod. 24, 5) & misit ועטות minimos; in duobus & misit נערים juvenes: duos ratos habuerunt, unum expunxerunt.

Pag. 563. Judas Muscato, agens de castigatione librorum sacrorum, inquit; Decisio legis est, & axioma magni momenti, AD MULTITUDINEM VERGERE. Ipse autor Cozri, orta disputatione de librorum sacrorum integritate, sic regem Cozaremem interrogat; Quid si inventa fuerit varietas in uno libro, duobus aut tribus? Respondet; Librorum multitudinem esse inspiciendam: & exscriptores, cum variant exemplaria, convertuntur ad multitudinis sententiam. Et sic (p. 408) asseruit Kimchi, in 2 Sam. 15, 21 --- Judæos, in eligendis variis lectionibus quas textui sacro insererent, solam codicum multitudinem esse secutos.

Pag. 564. Ex Aben Esdræ sententia, deficit נפש ante וְ 2 Sam. 13, 39: & deficit נפשי aut

ענין post עליך 1 Sam. 24, 11. Cum sint defectus hujusmodi; sic primitus scriptum esse ut nunc legitur, omnino est improbabile. Ad finem libri ויסקלו (אוחם) memorať Aben Esdras Jos. 7, 25 (alterum Gen. 4, 23) in quibus dicunt nonnulli, quod deficit לא NON. Mentionem etiam facit cujusdam Grammatici; qui ait, ultra CENTUM dictiones necesse esse mutare.

Pag. 566. R. Ephodæus sic differit, cap. 7. In captivitate Babylonica cæperunt corruptio & perturbatio libros sacros invadere; adeo ut de his homines dubitarent. Sed Esdras, in iis exercitatissimus, adhibuit omne robur ut dirigeret perversa & contorta. Idemque fecerunt omnes scribæ qui eum secuti sunt; librosque illos, quantum possibile fuit, perfecte correxerunt. In locis autem, quos invaserant corruptio & perturbatio, fecerunt Keri & Cetib; eo quod dubium erat in eo quod reperiabatur.

Pag. 567. R. Risba scribit; Sicut differunt B. Afer & B. Nephtali aliquot in locis, sic differunt & contendunt de variis DICTIONIBUS Occidentales & Orientales. --- In omni loco, in quo invenimus differentias in libris, dicitur in tractatu Sopherim, sequendam esse librorum multitudinem. Sic ait & R. Jacob: Nonne in dictionum mutatione dissensiones sunt in libris; resque

que illa fuit sapientibus dubia & anceps? Et ideo, ut de ea judicium ferrent, necesse habuerunt librorum multitudinem sequi.

Pag. 572. *Judæorum codicibus sacris id accidit, quod & aliis; scribarum negligentia, calamitatum gentis injuria, ipsaque vetustate nonnihil corrupti sunt codices; medio illo tempore, quod a Talmudistis ad Masoretas elapsum est: unde factum, ut in hoc variarum lectionum genere hi plures quam illi deprehenderint. Idem contigit, & longe copiosius, in aliis variarum lectionum speciebus. Multo enim plures adnotat tractatus Scribarum, quam Talmudistæ, cæteri-que omnes qui eum præcesserunt: Masoretæ longe plures, quam tractatus Scribarum: & Masoretis plurimas addiderunt Judæi posteriores.*

Pag. 609. *Constat igitur ex Judæorum confessione, & adnotationibus (ipsorum opera ad librorum sacrorum margines adscriptis) libros illos multo plus quam MILLE scribarum corruptelis nunc esse sædatos. Verum, SI PENITUS TEXTUM IPSUM INTROSPICIAMUS; MULTO CONFERTIOR CORRUPTELARUM SEGES DEMETENDA E LATEBRIS SESE PRODET.*

From the various kinds of testimony here collected, as to the Sentiments of the Jews them-

selves, we are now well qualified to form this general conclusion --- That the Jews have been from time to time fully convinc'd, and have also fairly acknowledg'd, that no miraculous superintendence, nor any extraordinary care of the transcribers, had preserv'd their sacred MSS from Errors; but that their several copies contain'd *Variations*, and consequently *Mistakes*, which ought most carefully and most religiously to be corrected, in consequence of the divine Origin of those Scriptures, and their great Importance to Mankind.

But, it will be said here --- If the Jews have thus own'd the *fallibility* of the *transcribers* of their sacred books; have they not, at the same time, insisted upon the *infallibility* of their *Masora*? Have they not discover'd, together with the disease, the certain method of cure? Have they not constantly boasted of their unerring guide to reformation; or rather, of their being in possession of a rule, which would correct all past errors, and prevent future ones? This is, in some measure, true; many of them have thus boasted: and therefore, the argument, built upon the authority and energy of this *Masora*, must be now consider'd. For as this *Masora*, tho' its
nature

nature be not generally known, has been in general profoundly reverenc'd; and as this Masora affords almost the only shadow of an argument, in favour of the absolute perfection of the modern Heb. copies; 'tis necessary to give it here a due share of our attention. What I have to offer upon this head shall be introduc'd in the following words of Cappelanus beforemention'd, in his answer to Valerian de Flavigny (Heb. Professor at Paris, 1658) who insisted on *the Integrity of the Heb. Text*, and on *the Masora* as the foundation of that Integrity.

Quam immerito sibi arrogavit adversarius, quæ in fronte suæ epistolæ præmisit, verba apostoli ---- Erit tempus, cum sanam doctrinam non sustinebunt! Quam enim sanam doctrinam vocat, reventa vetus error est; qui, superiori sæculo natus, ut nascentibus apud nos literis Hebraicis gratiam & auctoritatem conciliaret, hodie merito deseritur ab omnibus. Quis enim credat quod olim credebatur, ne minimo quidem apiculo hodiernos codices discrepare ab ipsis sacrorum scriptorum autographis? Quem nunc non pudeat profiteri cum Pagnino --- Hebræa volumina nec una in dictione esse corrupta? Nec enim, ut tantum miraculum credatur, sufficit amplius tam stupenda prædicare de quorundam MASORETARUM

RUM diligentia: parum juvat multis fabulis extollere tam accuratam Judæorum sinceritatem, fidem & religionem, in exscribendis sacris codicibus. Tempus, veritatis parens, quantum ejusmodi relationibustribuendum sit, nos edocuit. His enim eruditis temporibus, quibus literæ Orientales melius Christiano orbi innotuerunt, jamdudum ab ejusmodi tam crassis erroribus emerferunt Christiani doctores. --- Olim non satis explorata erat Masoretarum critica historia: ut testatur Buxtorfius, qui in Tiberiade conqueritur, quod multi de Masora loquantur temere. "Pau-
"cissimi (inquit) Masoræ veram notitiam hac-
"tenus consecuti; plurimos autem vidi de
"Masoretis, magis secundum affectus animi
"præjudiciis gravati, quam vera scientia im-
"buti, judicare. Historiam itaque, ut potui,
"per textui; menda sustuli --- nec tamen cre-
"das omnia esse correctæ --- pudenda est hic
"Judæorum negligentia, immanis incuria &
"oscitantia, ad manifestissima vitia cæcutivisse
"&c." Quamobrem, si Masora ipsa tot scatet
mendis & corruptelis; quomodo causa poterit esse
sacri contextus integritatis? Satis mirari non
possum, quomodo ita apud Christianos & Judæos
invaluerit effatum illud — MASORAM ESSE
SEPTEM LEGIS!

The same strange prejudice, the same blind veneration for the Masora, which appear'd in this adversary of Cappellanus, appear'd also (near the same time) in one of Vossius's adversaries, whose name was GEORGIUS HORNIUS. This *Mr. George Horne*, who was distinguish'd by the castigations of Vossius,* seems to have been a well-meaning writer, but certainly no adept in Logic, and (which might also be easily prov'd) a very moderate proficient in Arts and Sciences. Perhaps *he held these in contempt*; and might think himself better employ'd, in contributing his time and pains towards the forming *a new Cabbala*: so that, had he liv'd in these days, he might have shone forth a scholar of the first class in the school of *Mr. Hutchinson*. As the good word of such an author would have done Vossius very little honour; so he very facetiously thanks the Gentleman for not applauding him --- *Valde metuebam, ne laudaturus esses; nunc quia id non feceris, ingentes tibi refero gratias*.

Having mention'd *Mr. Horne's* assertion, that *the Heb. text of the old, and the Gr. text of the new Testament, were both come down to us uncorrupted*; Vossius adds, *Magnas apud om-*

* *Vossii castigationes ad objecta Georgii Hornii*; 1659.

nes Christianos inibit gratias; si ostendere possit, undenam ergo ista lectionum varietas promanarit. Cum enim IN OMNI DISCREPANTIA ALIQUA SIT CORRUPTELA; oportet, ut cum omnibus eruditis fateamur, libros sacros non omnino incorruptos ad nos pervenisse; aut cum insipidis quibusdam Judæis statuamus, variantes istas lectiones ab ipsis Prophetis esse excogitatas! Having also expos'd his unlearned adversary, for speaking of the present copies of Homer and Virgil, as having been transmitted down without error; he proceeds to censure Mr. Horne's inconsistency, in *maintaining the incorruption* (and indeed the *incorruptibility*) of the *Heb. copies*, and yet allowing some variations: after which he judiciously points out the amazing absurdity, in supposing THE MASSORA certainly to have preserv'd, or certainly to restore, *the Hebrew Verity*.

For thus he tells Mr. Horne, in his castigations on the first chapter --- *Provoças ad Providentiam divinam; per quam firmiter statuendum esse dicis, "Depravationem codicum "Hebræorum nec admissam fuisse, NEC POTUISSE ADMITTI, five per fraudem, five "per incuriam." Sed ipse temet ipsum destruis "paulo post, cum agnoscis; "Esse in verbis quibusdam & literis discrepantias." Pergis dein sic:*

fic: “Accessit stupenda MASORETARUM diligentia, qui etiam singulas literas in censum retulere; & si quæ corruptelæ in quædam exemplaria irrepsent [i. e. *si fuerant admissæ, quæ admitti non potuerunt*] ex correctissimis & indubitatis ipsi in perpetuum sustulerunt.” *Mirificum argumentum!* Quia nempe Masoretæ ante duo, tria & quatuor secula, etiam singulas literas numerarunt; ideo non potuerunt, ante quatuordecim & quindecim secula, vitia a librariis Judæis committi. Huic simile fuerit, si quis dixerit: quia Nizolius omnia vocabula Ciceronis collegit & numeris alligavit; ideo non potuisse librarios, qui libros ejus describere ante mille & plures annos, vel in uno verbo peccare. *Ausim adfirmare te poma aut nuces cogitasse, cum hæc scriberes. Vide, ne decipiare, bone Vir.* But, 'tis time to take our leave of Mr. Horne; and, with him, of all those who choose to stand forth thus valiantly in defence of *the Masora*, and prove much warmer advocates for it than many amongst the Jews themselves.

The testimony of B. Chaim (pag. 231, sect. 4) is too remarkable, not to be recollected upon this occasion: and the following is his very ingenuous concession --- *Vidi multos e cætu Sapientum nostrorum, qui hac nostra*

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ætate vivunt, non ordinasse cor suum erga Masoreth, neque sequi in aliqua re sententiam Masoritarum; dicunt enim "Quænam utilitas consequatur ex ea?" And this same Jewish critic, tho' he had himself high notions of the utility of the Masora, was compell'd to draw a melancholy picture of its imperfection, corruption and confusion: see *sect. 28 --- 31*. Not long after B. Chaim had printed the Masora, Elias Levita (who is said to have spent 20 years in the study of it) publish'd an explanation of it. And Walton tells us (*proleg. 8, 13*) --- *Elias invehitur contra Masoretas, propter inanis gloriæ desiderium; & affirmat, defectus Masoræ non posse numerari; & concludit, opus imperfectum defectibus undique scatere*. Lastly: the author of the book *Cofri* tells us --- *Masoram opus vanum fuisse, & occupationem diligentem in re inutili. Eandem fuisse sententiam plurimum Rabbiorum affirmat: Multi (inquit) Sapientes traducunt, despiciunt & vituperant hoc studium. Sapiens quoque Aben Esra comparat Masoretas homini numeranti folia & paginas librorum medicorum, a qua omni enumeratione non sanatur ullum vulnus.**

The Masora therefore appears, from the preceding authorities, to be entitled to the du-

* *Frassenii disquisitiones Biblicæ; p. 216.*

bious character of --- *laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis*. But then (which is much more observable) some of the very same men, who have loaded it with the opprobrious terms of *very imperfect, confus'd and contradictory*, have yet been very extravagant in their encomiums on it. We have seen the honourable things spoken of it by B. Chaim: and Buxtorf, in the overflowings of his zeal, ascribes it to this same Masora, that --- *qua latissime patent oriens & occidens, uno ore, uno modo, verbum Dei legitur; & omnium librorum, qui in Asia, Africa, vel Europa sunt, sine ulla discrepantia, consonans harmonia cernitur*. Tiberias, p. 7. Now, tho' this universal harmony of the sacred copies is merely ideal; and tho' the rant of applause frequently met with, from Jews and Christians, in exaltation of the Masora, be the certain effect of zeal without proper knowledge: yet, as truth often lies between the extremes, we shall perhaps find it here --- if we allow to *the foes* of the Masora, that *it has not prevented the Heb. Text from being greatly corrupted*; and if we allow also to its *friends*, that *it may have prevented the Heb. Text from being corrupted more*. Let us therefore consider it somewhat more particularly.

As to its age and origin ; many of the Jews maintain, that it was the work of Ezra and his brother-members of the great Synagogue : which is the opinion of B. Chaim ; see *sect.* 1, 24, 27. But here, antecedently to any farther enquiries ; it should be observ'd --- that the *Masora* means a vast collection of traditionary remarks, of very various kinds ; some respecting the division of the sacred text into larger and lesser sections and verses ; some relating to words, others to letters, and others to the vowel-points and accents. And 'tis not only probable, but certain, that this multifarious and crude system of materials contains the remarks of some few men of sense, but of many others, who have learnedly trifled away their time, in very different ages. Buxtorf, who says that the Masorets begun from the time of Ezra, allows it to be uncertain, in what age they ended : and he also allows (p. 8) that no satisfactory account can be given of the true Masorets --- *qui fuerint ; ubi, aut quando, vixerint*. Buxtorf also (p. 11) gives us the following words of Elias --- *Autores Masoræ fuerunt centeni & milleni, una generatione post aliam ; neque cognitum nobis est tempus principii vel finis ipsorum*, And lastly : Aben Ezra, in the beginning of his book *Moznaim*, gave the follow-

following particular account, about 600 years ago --- אחריהם באו אנשי התלמוד ואחר עמדו בישראל אנשי המסורת שהבדילו כל ערב מן הקדש *post eos* (sc. *autores Misnæ*) *venerunt autores Talmudis* (sc. *Gemarae*) וְ *postea steterunt in Israele autores Masoræ, qui separaverunt omnem mixturam a sancto* --- which last words contain a strong proof of the variations of the Heb. MSS; since this ancient and learned Jew allows, that the Masorets separated the dross from the pure gold, distinguish'd what was adventitious and corrupt from what was original and sacred.

The chief glory of the Masora, with all those who have deem'd it at all glorious, has been --- that *it proves the Heb. text to have been uncorrupted*. Whereas it so happens, that it proves directly the contrary. For almost the only thing, which it does in fact prove, is --- that the profess'd end and intention of it was to render the Heb. MSS *correct*, and to keep them so. But, does not *real correction* necessarily imply *real corruption*? And has not Aben Ezra told us so, in the passage just before quoted? If we look back to pag. 170, we shall there find Elias declaring --- *if the Masorets had not come, the Law would have been two Laws*; clearly hinting at the many
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corruptions, which the Masora was meant to *remove* and to *prevent*. And yet; that a *Masora* could not perfectly secure from corruption, he proves by adding --- that, tho' there was a Masora made upon *the Targum of Onkelos*, yet were there found in the copies of that Targum many variations. I would ask, whether the most Masoretical Christian can believe, that all the MSS of the *Koran* have been deliver'd down uncorrupted? And yet, the *Koran* also had the honour of its Masora; and the Masora of the Moslems assures us most minutely, that all the letters of their sacred book amount to 323,015¹. But learned men know, that the several MSS of the *Koran* have varied in many instances²: and therefore, if the Mohammedan Masora has prov'd ineffectual, the same may have been the case with the Masora of the Rabbins. *May have been?* --- Does not this Masora itself declare it to *have been*? Is its own language intelligible,

¹ *Constante affirmat Elias Levita MASORAM Talmude posteriorem esse, illiusque refert initium ad annum Christi 506. Imo natam illam esse crediderim post annum 600, & ab Arabibus sumptam; quibus Judæi id omne quod habent rei Grammaticæ & Criticæ acceptum referunt. Habent illi Alcorani sui Masoram, Judaicæ haud absimilem. Simon, Disquisit. critic. p. 23. See also Walton's Proleg. 8, 2: and Sale's Koran, Prelim. Disc. p. 58.*

² Walton's Prolegom. 8, 15.

upon any other supposition? Does it not say --- *Such a word is* (כתיב) WRITTEN in the text; but (קרי) READ *such a word*, READ the word given in the margin? And what can be, if this be not, a confession of error in the text? A censure has been always past upon that printer, who made the celebrated omission of the negative particle in the 7th commandment; printing it --- *Thou shalt commit adultery?* * Yet the Masorets tell us, that לֹא *non* is now, some say 15, some say 20 times, in the text; where the word should be לֵי *ei*. And if so; what material corruptions must attend the undue insertion, or the omission, of this negative, in 15 or 20 places? For, as Walton observes --- *hæc lectio momentosa est, quia mutat sensum negativum in affirmativum!* In short: what, but the existence of a variety of corruptions, is to be inferr'd from the several following Masoretic doctrines? --- that 15 whole words are to be read, tho' not now written --- that 8 words, tho' written,

* Altho' we call the Scripture the word of God, as it is; yet it was writ (copied) by a man, a mercenary man; whose copy, either might be false, or he might make it false. For example: here were a thousand Bibles printed in England, with the text thus, *Thou shalt commit adultery*; the word, *not*, left out. Might not this text be mended? *Seld, Table-talk*: pag. 2010, vol. 3, edit. 1726.

are not to be read --- that there are 15 instances of several letters, written as *one* word, but to be read as *two*; and 9 instances of letters, written as *two* words, to be read as *one* --- that there are 11 transpositions of letters call'd radical * --- that, besides the very numerous variations of the letters אהר, the instances of addition, omission and change in the *other* letters, amount to above 80 --- and that the various readings (not in points but letters) in the Oriental and Occidental copies, in all the sacred books excepting the Pentateuch, are confessedly above 200! Thus freely does the Masora acknowledge variations in the Heb. copies; thus honestly does it offer to assist in correcting *some* of the many corruptions, which time has introduc'd: and it may be added, that the Masorets themselves never seem to have dreamt of, what some modern critics have dreamt concerning them ---- *that those very IMPERFECTIONS, which they had noted in the Heb. text, would ever be produc'd, to prove that same text PERFECT!*

But whatever might be the intention of the

* Buxtorf says (p. 267) that all the transpositions are 62; each of which is call'd Masoretically מוקדם ומאוחר *anterioratum & posterioratum* i. e. *quando antepositum est, quod postponi DEBEBAT; aut contra.*

Masorets; 'tis certain, that their labours have not preserv'd the Text uncorrupted. If the Masora must be consider'd an *an hedge*; may not that hedge have been made unskilfully? Or might it not, if well made, fall to decay? One of the first things, which offer themselves to lessen our veneration for the Masora, is its contradiction to itself. On *Genes. 4, 8*; the Masora says, *Sunt* (כח) 28 *versus, desinentes in medio versûs*; reading in the margin of some Bibles, at each of these instances, פסקה באמצע פסוק, *hiatus in medio versûs*: and in the text, noted by such remark, there is plac'd a little circle, o call'd *piska*, denoting some defect. * But, notwithstanding the Masora tells us, at this place, that *there are 28 such defects*; it tells us, at *Gen. 35, 22, Versus desinentes in medio versûs sunt* (כה) 25. And thus Walton remarks (*proleg. 8, 14*) that there are (יג) 13 places, in which we read אלה השמים ואלה הארץ; yet the Masora, on the very first verse in Genesis, tells us, *these words are found together* (ג) *three times only*: which, as Walton observes, is stumbling at the very threshold. These, and many other such instances, have extorted from the warmest friends of the Masora the confession of its

* See this explain'd in my Dissertation, p. 351.

being very imperfect, contradictory, interpolated, mutilated &c. And to the confessions of Buxtorf and others already given I shall add that of the equally zealous Carpzovius; who says --- *Ut taceam, ne dimidiam Masoræ partem ad nos pervenisse --- sibi met ipsi passim contradicere Masoram, hoc ut exemplis comprobatum datur, non negari potest --- multis modis corruptam, mutilam, & interpolatam, ultro fatemur Masoram.* * Such then being confessedly the condition of the Masora; how wonderful is it, that it should have found so many strenuous advocates and fond admirers! *Quam ineptum & infans fuit, habere eam ut tutissimam ducem, quæ ducere ipsa suos non posset descriptors; quæ nullam eis viam suppeditaret, qua via suos numeros illi ad veritatis normam exigerent!* *Quam vere igitur exclamat Morinus, Quis huic custodi custodem dabit, huic sepi sepem?* *Hæccine est illa MASORA, quam veluti de cælo in terras delapsam Judæi (quidam) suspexerant; quæ sanctuarii (ut illi dicunt) parietes divinâ custodiâ tueretur ac protegeret!* Houbigant's prolegom. p. 25.

But let us consider farther, that when the Masora speaks of any word, or set of words, as occurring so often; it does not refer, for

* Critica sacra Vet. Testam. pag. 318, 319, 320.

each instance, to the particular book or section; and, tho' it mentions some of those instances, it passes the rest over in silence. If it therefore tells us (for example) that אלהים is to be wrote אלוהים in *ten* places; it produces 4 or 5 of these instances, and omits the rest. So that if a transcriber should doubt as to the writing that word, in any one of the places not particulariz'd by the Masora; he seems to have nothing to do, but lay down his pen, and read thro' the whole Heb. Bible: in which if he finds the word wrote אלוהים in *ten other* places, he writes it אלהים here; and if only in *nine other* places, he then makes this the tenth instance, and writes it אלוהים. And how excellent must that Rule be for transcribers; which compels them, *every now and then*, to read *the whole Heb. Bible*, before they can tell how to proceed safely in their transcripts!

Perhaps we shall be told here, that the grand point of excellence is not yet mention'd; since it was, as Buxtorf calls it (p. 43) *propriissimum Masoretarum opus, numerare literas, voces & versus; ne unquam aliquid posset addi, detrahi, vel mutari*. But, how it was possible for the same set of men, who allow'd so many words and letters to be omitted, ad-

ded, and express'd differently in different copies; how such men could think of giving the exact number of such words and letters in the Heb. Text, is very surprizing. *In variis lectionibus Orientalium & Occidentalium, pro יהוה (Jehovah) quod extat apud Occidentales, ponunt Orientales אדני (Adonai) Thren. 5, 21: quod plane probat Masoretarum calculum incertum esse de numero singularum literarum. Si vero hæc in nomine illo sacro incertitudo sit, quanto magis in aliis vocibus? **

But, what if they had form'd their numbers upon some copy, which was absolutely perfect; where, even then, would have been the emolument to transcribers? Supposing, that the number of all the genuine *verses* should be (according to the Masoretic calculation) 23,206; and that all the genuine *letters* amounted to 815,280: how would the knowledge of these sums direct a transcriber, when doubting the genuineness of any one verse or letter? For, would not the number of *letters* be the same, tho' put ever so frequently one for another? And would not the number of *the same letters* be exactly the same; tho' they might introduce a great variety of corruptions, only, by being transpos'd? Let

* Walton's prolegom. 8, 15.

us suppose a Jew, copying the 16th *Psalms*, to be doubtful whether *Yod* should be inserted once or twice in the word חסיד (see pag. 107) would he be at all reliev'd by knowing, that *Yod* occurs 66,420 times in the whole Bible? For should he discover, after many a month's hard labour, that this number would be compleat with *one Yod* in this word, in this place; yet might not *Yod* have been added or omitted *elsewhere*? And if so; will he not be led to establish *an error* by that very painful method, which he had taken to investigate *the truth*? Note here --- that as the Masora consisted almost entirely of *numbers*, and those numbers were express'd by *alphabetical letters*; these would be particularly liable to corruption. And yet, if such numbers prov'd to be corrupted, by being express'd differently in different copies; the only way, to fix the truth amidst the contending authorities, was carefully to read the Heb. text thro' from the very beginning to the very end. This, tho' possible, was perhaps never once perform'd. Yet if the toilsome examination should have been gone thro', in one or two instances; all the other instances, where the numbers in different copies were contradictory, must have been corrected at random, or left contradictory

ry still : and in either case, the Masora (tho' it had been originally perfect) must have long ceas'd to be a safe and infallible guide. So that to all those, who believe the perfection of the present Text, and triumph in *this work of the Masorets* as its grand security, we may address ourselves (with some propriety) in the words of Jeremiah --- *How do ye say, We are wise, and the word of the Lord is with Us ? Lo certainly, in vain made they it, the pen of the scribes is in vain : it is vanity, and the WORK OF ERRORS.* Ch. 8, 8 ; 10, 15.

Instead of the whole Bible, let us now speak of the Pentateuch only. Will a transcriber be easily led to determine the genuineness of any verse, or word, or letter ; merely, because the Masora tells him, that the *Vau* in נחור (Lev. 11, 42) is the middle letter in the Pentateuch : which Pentateuch contains either 5888, or 5845, or 5245 verses, or some other number different from all the former ? It would be neither useful nor agreeable to enter into all the particulars of this Masora. The reader's patience would be greatly endanger'd if any considerable notice should be taken of all their *difficiles nugæ* --- of the futil discovery of one Masoret, who found out 22 verses, in which there was neither ך nor ם ; or of the ill-direct-
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ed diligence of another, who also read thro' his Bible, to find out one verse, which contain'd all the 22 letters with the 5 finals. And yet these may be call'd noble discoveries; when compar'd with a thousand others, which are a thousand times still more trifling and contemptible.

'Tis readily confess'd, that one part of the Masora is of real importance; and therefore, had it been executed with diligence by the wiser Jews, as it well deserv'd, it would have merited high commendations. The words in the margin of the Heb. Bibles are call'd by the Masorets *the Keri*, or *Kerioth*; a name, which implies a command to read such marginal words, as parts of the true text. This evidence of *the Keri* has sorely distress'd the advocates for the perfection of the Heb. text; who would fain have the Keri call'd *conjectures*, or *expositions*, or *explanations*, or any thing, rather than *various readings*. But, let me ask a short question: Can *נח* *non* be thought by any man of sense to be an *exposition*, or *explanation*, of *נח* *ei*? And if the Masorets only *conjectur'd*, that the word in the margin was to be read, instead of the word in the text; nothing could more plainly express their *conjectures*, that the text had been corrupted.

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But, how great soever the plausibility of this evasion might appear formerly; it can appear plausible no longer. No man can now stand forth and assert, that *the words in the margin never were in the text*; because a multitude of them are found in the text of the now-existing MSS --- several were specified in my Dissertation; and I have, since the publication of that, found many more. The text therefore has been corrupted: the Jews themselves acknowledge it: the very Masorets acknowledge it: they have recorded in the margin hundreds of variations, which they thought more likely to be true than what they found in the text: and these very same marginal readings are now found in the text of many MSS. Let the ablest advocate for the *incorruption* and *incompactibility* of the Heb. text go now, and contend with this argument. Let him oppose his open eye, steadily, to the bright ray of conviction; and if he cannot bear its light, let him own the lustre of it. The printed evidence of the Masorets, when combin'd with the evidence of MSS, is so full and so conclusive; that if a man can idly persist in his conceits of *the integrity* contend-ed for, in defiance of *both these*; his weakness will be a proper object of pity.

But

But these *Keri*, however valuable, are not of that great antiquity, which has frequently been claim'd for them. That some of the inspir'd writers should *themselves* have annex'd various readings to their own books, or to any other parts of the text, is a supposition so absurd, that if it had not been made, it would have been thought impossible. And if we descend thro' 900 years, from Ezra to Jerom; the margin of the MSS did not *then* contain these differences. * The truth is --- many of the *Keri* are various readings extracted from a few MSS, in very *different* ages; some from ancient, and some from *very late* MSS: and others, amongst the Masoretical annotations, are founded upon such MSS as were *greatly corrupted*. Let us briefly consider these particulars.

Whether the MSS, which furnish'd the present *Keri*, were many or few --- this in-

* Hieronymus, qui studiis Hebraicis tanto cum conatu incubuit, cui frequentissimum cum Judæis commercium, & qui Biblia hebraica latine vertit, nusquam commemorat dictiones marginales, sc. *Keri*. Rem tam solennem, ipsiusque translationi & commentariis tam necessariam, ipsi si vel leviter cognita fuisset, nunquam præterisset. Tum equidem variabant codices. Quando enim non variabant? Sed variationum nulla erat collectanea, nec librorum marginibus solenniter inscribebantur. Morinus, de Heb. & Gr. tex. sinceritate, p. 604.

deed is a point, which will depend upon some previous considerations. As, Whether the Masorets have given *all* the variations of their MSS: if so, their MSS must have been *few*; because the MSS even now extant would furnish above ten times the number. If the Keri are only *select* variations, they have been selected with very little judgment; since many are excluded, of much greater consequence than some, which are admitted. These variations were noted in different ages; because some are mention'd in the Talmud (made between 500 and 700 years after Christ) and others are only to be found in the latest and worst MSS. Witness the corrupted word *תִּשְׁבְּחוּ* *thy saints* (Ps. 16) which, tho' now in the text by Masoretic authority, was not, I presume, at first in the text of any Heb. MSS, extant 500 years ago: I have found it only in 4, out of 31, MSS. How sedulously are the 63 *literæ majusculæ* & *minusculæ* mark'd by the Masorets, as containing great and little mysteries; and yet some of our present MSS are disgrac'd by few or none of them. And, as the Masora has help'd to establish in the modern text many interpolated letters and words, and perhaps some sentences; so has it labour'd to exclude at least *two whole verses*,
which

which are beyond all disputation *genuine*. The verses are *Jos.* 21 ; 36, 37 : and remarks upon them are given in my Dissertation, p. 400 &c. Behold therefore one very considerable, and most decisive example, to prove the miserable consequence of a blind obedience to Masoretic authority : since *two whole verses* have been excluded from most of the MSS, for many ages --- merely, because the enumerators have reckon'd in *Joshua* only 656 verses ; which number would by these two verses become 658, and of course give the lie to the Masora.

That the illustrious R. Saadiah and R. S. Jarchi noted some Keri, which are not in the modern collection, has been prov'd by B. Chaim ; *sect.* 23. And, out of the modern Masoretical collection, even in the important article of קרי ולא כתיב (READ *such or such a word, tho' NOT WRITTEN in the text*) the number of the Keri is computed variously. As early as the first appearance of the Gemara, the Rabbies had noted 6 --- Elias, in the body of his Masora, reckons 8 ; but says in his preface, that the Masorets reckon 10 --- Avenarius reckons 12 --- and Cappellus and Walton reckon 13 ; of which the celebrated word ער (enlarg'd upon, at pag. 187 &c.) makes one ; agreeably to the editions of Plantin and

Munster. But, that none of the Masoretic copies contain *all* the variations of the Heb. MSS, is not only evident from the MSS themselves, but may be confirm'd by the following very remarkable authority.

There is in the Bodleian library a MS of the Targum upon the anterior Prophets, in large 4to, catalogued N°. 467; at the beginning of which are three sets of various readings, collected on the several books call'd *Hagiographa*. The third set contains the variations of the *Oriental* and *Occidental* copies. The second set is that of *B. Asher*, and *B. Naphtali*, relative to *the points* only. And the first set is not only not publish'd, but has not (perhaps) been so much as mention'd in any account yet printed. There are fortunately collected; in this first part, so many various readings, as fill near 5 large columns, about 75 lines in a column: but unfortunately, in a character small and difficult to be read. On the inside of the cover is an inscription; which (after mentioning the Targum) says --- *Præfiguntur Discrepantiæ Hagiographorum, sive variæ lectiones in eam Bibliorum partem, quæ inscribitur כתובים* i. e. *Hagiographa*. At the head of the first column are these words רברי הימים — חלקי הכתובים; which signify, that

that the subsequent *variation* of words in the *Cetbubim* begins with *Chronicles* ---- directly contrary to the general custom of placing *Chronicles* last. I shall give two examples, out of this new collection. In 1 *Chron.* 11, 11; we read על של מאור *contra trecentos*: the various reading here is על ארבע מאור *contra quadringentos* --- which instance proves, that this difference is taken from some MS, and not from the parallel verse in 2 *Sam.* 23, 8; because the present reading there is על שמנה *contra octingentos*. The other specimen relates to *Prov.* 19, 1: *Better is a poor man, that walketh in his integrity, than he that is perverse in his lips, and is a fool.* On which words I remark'd in my *Dissertation*, p. 509 --- that the word שפתיו *his lips* should perhaps be דרכיו *his ways*, agreeably to one of our Heb. MSS; and that כסיל *fool* was probably in the ancient MSS עשיר *rich*. And I have the satisfaction to find both these corrections expressly confirm'd by this collection; which gives first some of the words of this verse, as they stand at present, and then adds the variations --- :

טוב רש — מעקש שפתיו והוא כסיל ;
טוב רש — מעקש שפתים דרכים והוא עשיר ;

Having thus prov'd, that the *Masora* contains only *part* of the many various readings
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in the Heb. MSS; I proceed to a few other remarks, before I dismiss this subject. Elias Levita tells us, *the whole Masora was so extensive, as to be equal in quantity to the Bible itself*: and yet, that *the Masorets frequently made no remarks at all*; i.e. out of the many words in a sentence, or section, they remark'd upon a few, and pass'd over the rest.* So that if their comment should have been the means of preserving the parts thus comment-ed upon; yet the multitudes of words, still neglected, would be equally in danger of corruption, as if there had been no Masora at all. Nay, *their* danger would be certainly encreas'd, and the corruptions have doubtless been continued; because men have been less careful to correct, on account of this very Masora, which they suppos'd to have prevented all mistakes.

But then as the Masora, notwithstanding its bulkiness, was never perfected; so the greater part of what was compos'd has long been lost: --- *Masora* (says Walton) *ex majori parte nunc perit*. Proleg. 8, 10. The reason of such a loss is partly this --- that when the custom began (perhaps about 500 years ago) of inserting extracts from the Masoretic volumes into the MSS, which contain'd the sacred text;

* Walton's prolegom. 8; 10, 14.

they plac'd such extracts at the *top*, *bottom*, and *outer-side* of the text in every page. But here, the spaces left round the text being so narrow, as to admit but *part* of the Masora; the writers crouded in as much as possible in a very small character: and yet, many parts were omitted, and of course soon lost. In later times the parts, thus imperfectly introduc'd, became greatly corrupted; and no wonder. For the transcribers, out of an absurd notion of decorating their MSS, contriv'd to work up the marginal lines of the Masora into all sorts of fanciful devices; such as *Triangles*, *Circles*, *Knots of various kinds*, *Birds*, *Beasts* &c. In the execution of these projects, they would *change*, *omit* and *insert* words at their pleasure, rather than write either side of a *Triangle* out of equilateral proportion, or leave an *Eagle* or a *Tiger* unfinish'd. * So that had the Masora been perfected at first, and form'd upon good copies; who can wonder, that, after performing transmigration thro' the bodies of so many different animals, it should at last appear a monster of corruption?

As to the original falsity, or corruption of the Masora; I shall add one farther proof, too

* Houbigant's prolegom. pag. 21: and B. Chaim's preface, sect. 29.

considerable to be omitted: for which the Reader will be indebted to the reverend and very learned Dr. Gregory Sharpe. This ingenious Author, in his *Dissertations on the Origin of Languages* (8°. 1751) has calculated the number of letters in the Heb. Bible, in a method that is perfectly satisfactory. And *this calculation*, which was at first confirm'd by a MS at Perpignan in Spain, and has been farther confirm'd since by a very careful enumeration made by the learned Meyer Cohen, proves the Masoretic number of the letters (815,280) to be near 352,000 less than the real number. See his *Dissertations*, pag. 69 --- 72; and his introduction to an *Heb. Lexicon*, pag. 9 --- 11.

The Masora has long been stil'd *the hedge of the Law*; call'd so, according to the general opinion, from its enclosing the letters and preventing them from going astray. But we have seen, that the Masora was never finish'd; and certainly a hedge, rais'd but in part, must be a very insufficient security. Had it form'd a perfect enclosure, before any of the flock had wander'd: it might have been well. But, being rais'd late, after many years, and having fallen greatly to decay; 'tis entitled to very little honour for its services. Nay, its differ-

differvices, even in its present state, are notorious. And yet, had it continued firm and compleat to this day; greater still had been the misfortune. For, as many of the flock appear to have wander'd from their station, before the making of this enclosure; all such would then have been hedg'd out, and (perhaps) prevented for ever from returning. The absurdities therefore of considering the Masora as a *fence* and *guard* have led Father Houbigant to form a very happy conjecture --- that the preceding title was given to the Masora, not because it *defended*, but because it *surrounded*, the text; being written at the beginning and end, and all around the text in every page. So that it was much more probably call'd *an hedge*, on account of its *real shape* than its *imaginary efficacy*. But, whatever be the origin of this appellation, the transition from thence will not be unnatural, nor the allusion void of propriety; if we conclude these various remarks upon the Masora, with comparing it to Virgil's *great Elm*, celebrated for the residence of *vain dreams*.

ULMUS opaca, ingens; quam sedem Somnia vulgò
Vana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus hærent.

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CHAPTER IV;

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An HISTORY of the Hebrew Text.

WE have now seen, what were the sentiments of the most eminent amongst the Jews themselves, as to the *corruption* and *correction* of their sacred MSS: and the discovery of these sentiments seem'd necessary, to prepare the way for the following observations.

In order to judge properly of the degree of respect and veneration, which may be due to any ancient writing; and to ascertain that authority, which the Text of it ought to claim, in its present state: we should endeavour to accompany it (in imagination) thro' the several stages of its progress; marking, as attentively as we can, the care which has been taken of it, in descending down to ourselves, thro' the hands of transcribers and printers. Such a scheme, if useful with regard to *every ancient* author, must be particularly so with regard to those *most ancient* of all books, which are contain'd in the volume of *the old Testament*: and yet a scheme of this nature has not been hitherto delineated, or attempted.

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In order therefore to assist others and myself, in reducing our thoughts upon this extensive subject into some kind of *system*; I submit to the corrections of the Learned the following *history* of the sacred Heb. Text; which (I am convinc'd) is imperfect, and capable of great improvements.

GOD, *who in these last days hath spoken unto us by his Son, spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets*: whom he appointed the messengers of his Will; and sent, at different times, as his heralds, to proclaim peace or punishment to his dutiful or disobedient subjects. And as GOD, at the fall of man, *in the midst of judgment remembered mercy*; so were these Prophets to record the various circumstances of that temporary Dispensation, which was to prepare for the reception of HIM, who was to publish *the everlasting Gospel*; that Great Person, who was to be the *Teacher, the Redeemer, and the Judge* of mankind.

The writings therefore of these Prophets, being of such importance to the world, *were* (as we might have presum'd, and are expressly assur'd by an Apostle) *given by inspiration of GOD*. This has been constantly the belief of

Christians: and indeed with men, who acknowledge the divine authority of the *new* Testament, that of the *old* follows of course. Thus much is confess'd by Lord Bolingbroke; who (in his 3d letter on history) says --- that *the new testament, being prov'd, gives authority to the old.* 'Tis true, he adds --- *it gives this authority to the particular parts only*; meaning probably, the parts there quoted and referr'd to. But the expression of St. Paul is universal; and *μου γενον* must be applied to *all* the genuine books of the old Testament. *The divine inspiration of Scripture* is stated differently by different persons: some, extending it to *the words* as well as *matter*; others, more rationally inferring from the various differences of style in the many different writers, that *the matter only* has been the subject of divine inspiration. And here also, some confine this to the communication of such facts, as no writer could discover of himself, or derive with certainty from tradition; whilst others seem more justly to suppose, that GOD was pleas'd, not only to reveal *some great truths* otherwise undiscoverable; but likewise so to influence the writers, in describing *the facts* in and near their own times, that they might commit to writing *the true and proper circumstances.*

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The division of the books of the *old* Testament, as generally suppos'd to have been describ'd in the *new*, is -- *Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms*: Luk. 24, 44. The *Psalms*, as a general term, included the books of Poetry, which contain'd songs or short sentences, divine and moral; whilst the books of History, as well as those of Prophecy (strictly so call'd) were denoted by the word *Prophets*. And that the books merely *historical*, tho' compil'd from public registers or private accounts, were generally written by *Prophets*, has been judiciously remark'd by the reverend Mr. Peters, in the late preface to his Dissertation upon *Job*: p. 29 &c. As to *the Pentateuch*; the general opinion, that Moses was its author, seems very well founded: tho' it be at the same time allow'd, that *a few short remarks interspers'd* are the additions of a later writer, or writers; particularly *the concluding chapter* --- of which the 3 last verses seem to have been added long after the 9 verses preceding.

The *Original* of this Pentateuch, in the hand-writing of Moses, was preserv'd with great care, being deposited in the side of the ark; and with the ark was probably introduc'd into the temple at Jerusalem. It must not be forgot, that Sir I. Newton observes (in
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the first chapter of his observations upon *Daniel*) --- that *at the dedication of the temple, there was nothing in the ark but the two tables; (1 Kin. 8, 9) and therefore, when the Philistines took the ark, they took out of it the book of the law, and the golden pot of manna, and Aaron's rod.* But this remark does not seem just; nor does the text (on which it is grounded) appear conclusive, as to so early a loss of *the Mosaic MS of the Law*. For, being laid up, not in the ark, but *in the side of it*, the MS might by that means be conceal'd from the Philistines, and consequently be preserv'd. Or, if discover'd; it might be either left, or restor'd, by the Philistines upon the very same principle, which mov'd them to leave *the two tables*: whereas *the golden pot and the rod of Aaron* they might presume to purloin, the one for its value, and the other for its curiosity.

When therefore the historian speaks of there being *nothing IN the ark* (when brought into Solomon's temple) *but the two tables*; he might hint at the loss of *the golden pot and the rod that budded*, without meaning to exclude *the Mosaic MS* preserv'd IN THE SIDE of the ark. This distinction seems confirm'd, in the epistle to the *Hebrews*, ch. 9, 4: where
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the apostle, speaking of the ark, says --- *in which* (were, or had been) *the golden pot, Aaron's rod, and the tables of the covenant.* And here 'tis probable, that *the copy of the law* is not mention'd as having been, with the other things, *in the ark*; because (agreeably to the preceding distinction) it had only been deposited *in its side*. The words of the Heb. text add still greater weight to this distinction. For there (at *Deut.* 31, 26) the Law is order'd to be deposited מצד ארון --- not so properly *in the side*, as *by the side*, or *on the side*, or perhaps (more strictly) *on the OUTSIDE* of the ark, in some part or place proper to receive it. And if this MS of Moses was thus deposited *on the outside*, or if only *in the side*, of the ark; it might accompany the ark into the temple, tho' there was properly nothing *in the ark* but the two tables. In *I Sam.* 6, 8; we read, that the Philistines (when about to send back this same ark) *put jewels, or vessels, of gold in a coffer by the side thereof.* Was not this coffer plac'd *on the outside* of the ark? If so, the Mosaic MS was also *on the outside*; for the noun is connected with the very same preposition in both places. As the word מצד is not unnaturally render'd here *on the outside*, so neither is this a new interpretation. For the learned

learned Huetius tells us --- *Lex fuit ad latus arcae EXTERIUS: hoc est, si Jonathanem paraphrastem Chaldaeum audimus, בקופסא in capsula ad latus dextrum arcae; vel si Gemaram, in גליוסקוס in γλωσσόκομος, hoc est, scrinio. Demon. Evang. 4, 1, 2.*

Perhaps (after all) the Mosaic MS was neither contain'd in the ark, nor in any thing *fasten'd thereto*; but was only deposited *near it, on the side, or by the side* of it: being laid up within the tabernacle, in the most holy place, on the same table which supported the ark. And indeed this seems the most natural sense of the command (*Deut. 31, 26*) *Take the law, and put it (מצד) BY THE SIDE of the ark.* Noldius gives מצד as a particle, signifying *juxta*: confirming it by 8 instances, of which *this* is one. He quotes also 1 *Sam. 6, 8*; where our own version is --- *by the side thereof.* And we read also, in ch. 20, 25 --- *Abner sat (מצד שאול) by Saul's side.* If therefore the MS of Moses was neither contain'd in, nor connected with the ark; it might not be carried out to the battle, when the ark was: and if it was not, it could not fall (with the ark) into the hands of the Philistines.

But farther. That this MS, wrote by the hand of Moses, was not stollen by the Philistines,

tines, but safely deposited in the temple; and that (after being conceal'd in the dangerous days of the idolatrous kings of Judah) it was found in the days of Josiah ---- this seems clearly pointed out in the account given in 2 Chron, 34, 14. For there *the copy* of the law thus found by *Hilkiab the priest* is call'd ספר משה (*or per manum*) *Mosis*. 'Tis scarce possible for words more naturally to describe *a book written by Moses himself*; or to vouch more fully, that the MS of the law then found was *in the hand-writing of Moses*. And perhaps all doubt will be remov'd, when 'tis consider'd farther --- that, tho' there are 15 places in the old Testament, which mention the words *law of Moses* and *book of Moses*, yet this one place only mentions *the book of the law in the hand* (*or by the hand*) of *Moses*: the reason of which seems to be, that the other places speak of that law *in general*; but this place speaks of *one particular MS*, namely *the original*. Let us attend to this very singular distinction.

Josh, 8, 31 : ספר תורת משה *liber legis Mosis*.

1 Kin. 2, 3 : 2 K. 23, 25 : תורת משה *lex Mosis*.

2 Kin. 14, 6 : ספר תורת משה *liber legis Mosis*.

2 Chro. 23, 18 ; 30, 16 : תורת משה *lex Mosis*.

2 Chro. 25, 4 ; 35, 12 : ספר משה *liber Mosis*.

Ezr. 3, 2 : משה תורת *lex Mosis.*

Ezr. 6, 18 : משה ספר *liber Mosis.*

Neb. 13, 1 : משה ספר *liber Mosis.*

Dan. 9 ; 11, 13 : משה תורת *lex Mosis.*

Mal. 4, 4 : משה תורת *lex Mosis.*

But 2 *Chro.* 34, 14 : משה ביד יהוה *liber legis Jehovæ in manu Mosis.*

liber legis Jehovæ in manu Mosis.

As to the point of age, *this MS* certainly might be *the original* ; distance of time leaving it very possible. For the most extended chronology does not make the interval from the death of Moses to the death of Josiah 950 years ; an age exceeded by that of several MSS preserv'd at this day.

From this venerable Original, no doubt, many copies were taken from time to time, under the inspection of the High-Priest, or some Prophet. That there were copies of it in *Israel*, during the separation of the ten tribes, has been observ'd already. And it may be presum'd, that there were some copies of it likewise amongst the tribes of Judah and Benjamin ; particularly in the hands of the *Prophets, Priests and Levites* : and that, by the instruction and authority of these MSS, the various services in the temple were regulated, during the reigns of the good kings of Judah. One objection will be made here, and that is --- If there

there were several copies of the Law in Judah ; how are we to account for the surprize express'd by Josiah and the people, at his reading the copy found by Hilkiab ? To which I answer ; that their ignorance of the Law may fairly and fully be accounted for, from the history of the preceding reigns ; only from recollecting, what a *very idolatrous* king *Manasseh* was, for *fifty five* years ; and that he wanted neither power nor inclination to destroy the copies of the Law, had these not been secreted by the servants of the true God. The Law, after being so long conceal'd, would be unknown to almost all the Jews ; and thus the solemn reading of it by good king Josiah (to whom it might be discover'd safely) would awaken his own and the people's earnest attention. The copy produc'd was probably the *Original*, wrote by Moses ; which would excite still greater veneration. But, if it were not ; we cannot doubt, but it had the proper marks of *authenticity*. And it must be added --- that copies of the Pentateuch had *providentially* been, long before this time, in the hands of their enemies, the Israelites and Samaritans ; which single circumstance shews the impracticability of what some have been pleas'd to insinuate --- that Hilkiab might in-

troduce a *spurious Pentateuch*. So that, upon the whole; there might be many copies of the Law extant in Judah, and the copy produc'd by Hilkihah may have been the *αὐτογέγραφο* of Moses, notwithstanding this formidable objection.

As copies of this Pentateuch, thus continuing in the hands of the Jews, have (with the other sacred Books added from time to time by the Prophets) been deliver'd down to us by *the Jews*; so have copies of this same Pentateuch been deliver'd down by *the Samaritans* --- by the (now small) remainder of the ancient inhabitants of the land of *Israel*. And, how adoreable is that Wisdom! which could contrive to impress the seal of credibility so strongly upon this Pentateuch; so firmly to establish its authenticity, upon the joint testimony of two *such* nations --- two nations; who, for about 2000 years, have exercis'd the most uniform resentments: scarce agreeing in any one observance, but worshipping the true GOD, and reverencing this same Pentateuch of Moses. For *the same* it may properly be stil'd; as the two copies of it (of the same Text) are wonderfully consonant in the general, tho' they both now contain some mistakes; and tho' some of the characters, in which they

they are at present exprefs'd, are widely different. *

The Pentateuch, which was amongst the ten tribes, was (after their captivity) brought back by the Israelite priest ; who was sent to teach it the new inhabitants of Israel i. e. *the Samaritans*. And this Pentateuch might receive some additions (such as the few interspers'd later sentences and the concluding chapter) upon the authority of such copies, as were brought from Jerusalem to Gerizim by Manasseh, and by that multitude of Jews, who accompanied and followed him, about 400 years before Christ. The Samar. Pentateuch, being thus settled, descended (thro' an interval

* *Ex omnibus argumentis, quæ ad fidem Mosaicis libris adstruendam colligi possunt, vix validius ullum reperias, quam quod ex Pentateuchi Samaritani vetustate & auctoritate ducitur. — Nullus amor populis (Judæis & Samaritanis) nec fœdera fuerunt ; sed implacabile diffidiū, quod ad hanc diem perseverat. Et tamen utraque gens suum Pentateuchi codicem habet, parum dissentientem ; hunc Samaritanis literis exaratum (qui veteres fuerunt Chananæorum characteres) illum Judæis. Etsi probabile est, viros gentis utriusque eruditos, & studiosos Legis (quorum in ea emendanda summa erat diligentia) adversariorum codicibus nonnunquam esse usos. Nam populorum odia & dissensiones ad privatos aliquando parum vel nihil pertinent ; & flagrante nonnunquam bello, animadvertimus constare literatorum commercia. Quæcunque autem alios ex aliorum codicibus vel supplevisse vel emendavisse fateamur, levia hæc sunt, vel nihil potius, ad totius libri summam. Huet. Demon. Evang. 4, 2, 4.*

of

of near 800 years) to the times of Eusebius and Cyril, Epiphanius and Jerom; who, with others, made several quotations from it. After being thus providentially noted and authenticated by about 7 early fathers, it descended (unheard of, at least unseen, by the European Christians) thro' a thousand or 1200 years to the last century. For then, at the earnest recommendation of Scaliger, first A. Bp Usher, and after him other patrons of Learning and Religion order'd copies and parts of copies to be purchas'd, at *Naplose* and other places, from the descendants of the Samaritans. Upon the importation of these copies into Europe, they were found to retain the quotations made by the Christian Fathers, and in the very words which had been thus quoted more than a thousand years before: a striking argument this of the great care, with which they had been from time to time transcrib'd. For several successive transcripts there must have been; tho' probably fewer than amongst the Jews. And if the Samar. Pentateuch is less corrupted, thro' the errors of transcribers; it may be partly owing to its having been transcrib'd less frequently. For, whilst *the Jews* were scatter'd in multitudes thro' the world, and many of *the Christians* in the earlier and later times under-

understood Hebrew; *the Samaritans*, compar'd with the Jews, have been very *few in number*; and perhaps not more than ten of *the learned Christians* have ever been able, till very lately, to read the Samaritan character. Such then is the Samaritan Pentateuch; which comes to us, authenticated by many powerful arguments, and bearing in the very face of it various tokens of its high antiquity: in its character, generally confess'd the most ancient; and being entirely free from *points* and *accents*, and other modern matters, adventitious to the Hebrew. But, notwithstanding the general agreement of this *Samar.* with the *Heb. Pentateuch*, they differ in several considerable instances: certainly, thro' *some* involuntary corruptions in the former; probably, thro' *many* in the latter; and possibly, *more than one* alteration has been made *voluntarily*, in very early times, by *the Jews*. But of this, more hereafter.

As to *the whole Heb. Bible*, its canon seems to have been clos'd by *Malachi*, the latest of the Jewish prophets; about 50 years after Ezra had collected together the sacred books, which had been compos'd before, and during, his time. Prideaux supposes, the canon was clos'd by *Simon the Just*, about 150 years after *Malachi*.

Malachi. But, as his opinion is founded merely on a few proper names at the end of two genealogies (1 *Chro.* 3, 19; and *Neb.* 12, 22) which few names might very easily be added by a transcriber afterwards: 'tis more probable, that the canon was finish'd, by the last of the prophets, about 400 years before Christ. Let us proceed now with the history of the *Heb. Bible*; and consider it as descending from *Malachi*, thro' more than 2000 years, down to ourselves. Perhaps, it may be of great use, to divide this long interval into several periods; and if so, the following division may not be improper.

The *First* Period

From the close of the Hebrew canon to Christ.

The *Second* Period

Thence to the time of St. Jerom -- A. D. 400.

The *Third* Period

Thence to the conclusion of the Talmud - 700.

The *Fourth* Period

Thence to B. Asher and B. Naphtali -- 1000.

The *Fifth* Period

Thence to the invention of Printing -- 1457.

The *Sixth* Period

Thence to the Present Time.

The

P E R I O D I.

The books of the old Testament, having been settled by Ezra, Nehemiah, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, were probably left perfect; compleatly repair'd, after the injuries of time during the captivity; and corrected from such errors, as might have crept in from want of care in the transcribers. But the Heb. Text, thus left to posterity, does not seem to have continued long in the same condition. For the celebrated text, relative to mount Gerizim, was doubtless alter'd soon after the temple upon Gerizim was built. And as that corruption has been already prov'd upon the Jews; the Jews therefore corrupted their Pentateuch, in this instance, (probably) between the years 400 and 300 before Christ.

There is a very remarkable difference between the Samar. and Heb. copies of the Pentateuch in the book of Exodus. *The Speeches*, on account of the solemn embassy from God to Pharaoh by Moses, are express'd in the Samar. text *twice*; first, as given in charge by God to Moses; secondly, as repeated by Moses to Pharaoh --- just as the principal messages are recorded *twice* in Homer. Whereas in the present Heb. text, the speeches are re-

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corded *once* only; and that, with great appearance of irregularity: sometimes we have a speech, as from GOD to Moses, without reading that Moses deliver'd it; and sometimes, as from Moses to Pharaoh, without reading that GOD had commanded it. And 'tis particularly strange, that we should read the speeches of GOD to Moses, which denounc'd such and such judgments, in case of Pharaoh's disobedience; and then immediately read of the infliction of those judgments: without reading at all, that Moses deliver'd the speeches; and that Pharaoh, proving haughtily disobedient, was of course punish'd righteously.

These circumstances of probability, in favour of the Samar. text, were enlarg'd upon in my Dissertation, pag. 380 &c: and there was added (what seem'd to be) a strong proof from the Heb. text itself, that one of these speeches was formerly express'd twice in the Heb. text also. The nature of the proof was --- that in the Heb. text of *Exod. 11*, where the speech is now given only as *from Moses to Pharaoh*, there are retain'd several words (in the former part of the chapter) which seem impossible to be accounted for; except by allowing, that they are part of the speech *from*
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GOD to Moses, the rest of which speech has been there omitted. Should the Jews have omitted these several speeches, there is one obvious reason to be given for it --- that they did it *for brevity*. Not with intention to falsify and corrupt; but because these speeches, being all express'd once, might safely be omitted a second time; and the trouble of unnecessarily re-transcribing them might well be spar'd. And the duplication of each of these speeches might be the more readily omitted, when the Jews came to translate them, in the time of *Ptolemy*; as such omissions would then save them the still greater trouble of transcribing, both in the Original and also in the Greek version.

And now, as a farther proof of these several omissions made by the Jews, and in the reign of *Ptolemy*; at least, in proof that some Jewish history recorded such a thing, and that the later Jews themselves believ'd it; I shall produce the words of B. Chaim, who seems to confess it. For in the preceding preface (*sect. 26*) he has these words --- וראה גם ראה בעובדה דתלמי המלך בינ' דבר ששינו שבפי נאמר למה שינו ומה שינו במה שכתבו לו --- which words the Latin translator has render'd thus: *Inspice diligentius historiam Pto-*

lemæi regis, nempe in 13 locos, quos illi immutarunt; quoniam expresse indicarunt quare immutarunt illos: & quicquid immutabant fuit in eo quod ipsi scribebant. It must be observ'd, that the word דבר is here render'd *locos*, which was the first rendring in the Lat. MS; tho' it was afterwards alter'd to *verba*. The original word signifies, in Hebrew and in Chaldee, not only *a word*, but also a collection of words form'd into *a command* or *a speech*; as is evident from 1 Kin. 3, 10; where (speaking of Solomon's prayer) הדבר is render'd *the speech*; and from Buxtorf's Chald. Lexicon, which renders דבור and דבר *verbum, sermo, oratio*. It must also be observ'd, that if the last word in the preceding Heb. quotation (namely לו) was meant to signify *ei*, which is not express'd in the Latin translation; then the sense is --- *the 13 changes, here spoken of, were also made by the Jews in that which they wrote for HIM, namely, for Ptolemy.*

That we may discover the true meaning of the preceding remarkable sentence; it will be necessary for us to recollect, that B. Chaim endeavours solemnly and earnestly (in this 26th section) to vindicate his brethren from the heavy charge of *wilfully altering* their HEBREW Bible: asserting his firm belief, that no altera-

alterations had been made in the text; and that no words had been plac'd in the margin, but upon the authority of some tradition from Moses. And yet, he readily allows 13 places to have been alter'd wilfully; for which alterations (he says) a reason had been given by their fathers. It seems impossible to reconcile these assertions --- that *they never did in any instance alter wilfully* --- and yet, that *they did alter 13 places, for which they gave a reason* --- upon any other hypothesis than the following: that the allusion here is to *the omission of 13 speeches*; which, tho' originally express'd *twice*, in order to save trouble they express'd but *once only*. For one copy of a speech (it was thought) might be omitted, when another copy of it was still express'd; and yet, as there was in this case *no total omission, nor change of any one word into another*, the Jews might possibly think this to be *no criminal alteration or corruption*.

That Moses did not think it improper or unnecessary, to express *repeatedly* the same set of words, is evident from the 7th ch. of *Numbers*; in which the same 50 words, which describe the offering of each of the 12 princes, are express'd at large 12 times over. But then, many of the Jews (to save trouble) express
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the points under the words, in the first instance only; and omit them in all the rest. *A ver. 18. ad ver. 83, scribæ Germanicorum librorum, & primi impressores Hebræi codicis, puncta vocalia, per compendium laboris, omiserunt.* * The Arab. version, in the Lond. Polyglott, leaves out *the words themselves*, in the last eleven instances here spoken of. And also, in *Nehem. 7, 5*, where we have Ezra's long catalogue repeated; the Arab. version omits the whole, and refers to the book of Ezra.

But farther: if these speeches in Exodus have been omitted once in the Heb. text; they must have been omitted either *before*, or *at*, the time of making the Greek version, *in the reign of Ptolemy*. And here also the testimony of B. Chaim is remarkably coincident; since he not only asserts --- that the 13 places were alter'd in the Heb. text (of which he is expressly speaking) but also --- that the same changes took place in what they wrote for Ptolemy, (*& quicquid immutabant fuit in eo quod scribebant ei*) meaning, that the Greek version of the Pentateuch, suppos'd to be made for Ptolemy, was made according to the Heb. text as alter'd in these several places. Lastly: the number of the speeches, thus re-

* *Nota in locum, Bibl. Michaelis.*

peated in the Samaritan copy of *Exodus*, but not in the Hebrew, is exactly 13; the very number mention'd in the preceding testimony. For the following is a list of those speeches, in *Exodus*; which (I presume) have been thus omitted in the present Hebrew.

<i>Exod.</i> 6, 9	--- Israelites to Moses.	Speech 1.
7, 18	--- Moses to Pharaoh.	2.
8, 4	--- Moses to Pharaoh.	3.
8, 5	--- Moses to Aaron.	4.
8, 23	--- Moses to Pharaoh.	5.
9, 5	--- Moses to Pharaoh.	6.
9, 19	--- Moses to Pharaoh.	7.
10, 6	--- Moses to Pharaoh.	8.
11, 4	--- GOD to Moses.	9.
18, 24	--- Moses to Israelites.	10.
20, 17	--- GOD to Israelites.	11.
20, 19	--- Israelites to Moses.	12.
20, 22	--- GOD to Moses.	13.

Thus much, at present, as to variations *by design*; at least in this first period. As to *accidental* variations, introduc'd so very *early*; it has been remark'd already, that the Samar. text will prove some such to have happen'd, antecedently to the *Greek* version. For where the Samar. text reads more agreeably to the *context* in the old, or to the *quotations* in the
new

new Testament; there we may presume fairly, that the true reading is preserv'd by the Samaritans --- especially, when their *text* is confirm'd by their *version*, which is allow'd to exceed all other versions in its antiquity. *

I shall give one example of a considerable corruption in the Heb. Pentateuch, in which the Greek, the Syriac, and all the later versions agree with the present Hebrew: and therefore, 'tis probable, that this corruption happen'd *early* in this first period, at least before the Gr. version was made. The passage here meant is *Deut. 10, 6* --- *And the children of Israel journeyed from Beeroth of the children of Jaakan to Mosera. There Aaron died &c.* But that Aaron died at Mosera, or Moseroth, is contradicted by two other accounts in the Heb. text itself (*Num. 20, 22, and 33, 30*) both which agree in declaring, that he died at mount Hor, *the seventh station from Moseroth*. The order of the march is also transpos'd in the preceding quotation; since they journey'd, not from *Bene-jaakan to Moseroth*, but from *Moseroth to Bene-jaakan*: as is certain from *Num. 33, 31*. The reader will be well-pleas'd to find, that the Samar. text and its version have deliver'd down the genuine

* See the preceding pages 29 and 30.

and consistent words of Moses in both these particulars ; for they have preserv'd the many words, which have been carelessly omitted here in the Hebrew ; and they read (without the transposition) in the manner following ---

And the children of Israel journeyed from Moseroth, and pitched in Bene-jaakan : from thence they journeyed, and pitched in Hagidgad : from thence they journeyed, and pitched in Jotbathah, a land of rivers of waters : from thence they journeyed, and pitched in Ebronah : from thence they journeyed, and pitched in Ezion-gaber : from thence they journeyed, and pitched in the wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh : from thence they journeyed, and pitched in mount Hor. And there Aaron died &c.

'Tis generally agreed by the Jews, that many corruptions happen'd in their sacred books, during the 70 years captivity. * And it can scarce be doubted ; but that the dreadful persecutions, which the Jews suffer'd from Antiochus Epiphanes, and after him from others in different ages, were attended with effects equally, if not more, unfavourable to the Heb. copies. And therefore, tho' the fa-

* See B. Chaim's preface ; sect. 7, 8. And Abarbanel also, in the preface to his book *נחלי אברות*, says — *עזרא הצילם מכל עזרא liberavit eos ab omni confusione & errore.*

cred text was left perfect at the beginning of this first period, 400 years before Christ; yet many alterations might, and probably did, happen during those 400 years. But then, even in this period, we are *providentially* furnish'd with such evidences, as will discover, and correct, several of these corruptions. The Heb. *Pentateuch* of the Samaritans has been before treated of particularly. And as to its Syro-Chaldaic *version*, I shall only add here --- that the age of it may be dated from the beginning of this period. It must not be forgot, that the Heb. and Samar. copies *agreed more* in the days of old, than they do at present in the printed editions; for 'tis certain, from several instances which I have already discover'd, that the Heb. MSS now extant contain readings differing from the printed Hebrew, and agreeing with the printed Samaritan. See 6 instances, mention'd in pag. 181, 184, 185, 186, 187. To these I shall add 8 instances more, taken from two Harlean Heb. MSS in the *British Museum*; the 6 first from a MS, catalogued N°. 5706; the two last from N°. 5709. Note; these Heb. MSS agree, in the following instances, with the printed Samar. copies.

Lev. 9, 21. צוה יהוה את משה MS צוה משה
 בגריו ורחץ במים וטמא MS בגריו וטמא

Exod.

Exod. 7, 14. לשלח את העם MS לשלח העם
 9, 24. במצרים MS בכל ארץ מצרים
 29. אפרש כפי MS אפרש את כפי
 13, 5. יהוה אלהיך אל MS יהוה אל
 15, 17. יהוה כוננו MS אדני כוננו
 20, 18. כל העם MS העם

As the Heb. and Samar. Pentateuchs are two copies of the same Text; and as these copies will correct a few corruptions in each other, which were introduc'd before the Greek version was made: so nearly the same kind of assistance may be deriv'd from the Heb. Text alone, wherever any account of men or things is express'd twice, and repeated in a parallel passage. This method of correcting the Text by itself, by other passages evidently design'd to express the same words (or at least one uniform sense) is very satisfactory; and will furnish almost the only means of correcting such mistakes, as crept into any of the books from *Joshua* to *Malachi*, during the first 250 years of this period. It was upon this plan, antecedently to the discovery of our Heb. MSS, that I began my Dissertation; which, I presume, abundantly proves the advantage, and indeed necessity, of comparing parallel places: since the comparison of THEM discovers some remarkable corruptions, which it

would be now (perhaps) impossible to correct by any other method. Let us take one example of an *omission*, another of an *interpolation*, and a third of a *confus'd corruption*.

We read in 1 Chro. 11, 13: *Eleazar was with David at Pasdammim, and there the Philistines gathered together to battle, where was a parcel of ground full of barley; and the people fled from before the Philistines.* Who could have discover'd, that 34 words are here omitted (some of which are absolutely necessary to the sense of the chapter) if they had not been preserv'd in the parallel place, in 2 Sam. 23? See Dissertat. p. 128. As to an interpolation: who could have discover'd, that 2 whole verses have been inserted improperly at the end of *Chronicles*; did not the beginning of *Ezra*, by having the same words, fully prove --- that *part*, and a very abrupt part, of the decree of *Cyrus* had been subjoin'd to *Chronicles*, thro' the inadvertence of some transcriber? See Dissertat. p. 491. And as to a corruption by change of letters &c. we read in 2 Sam. 21, 19: *Elhanan, the son of Jaare Oregim, a Bethlehemite, slew Goliath the Gittite.* But every man knows, that *Goliath the Gittite* was slain by *David*. And I do not see, how we could ever have corrected the errors in these

these words, without help from other passages; especially from that which is expressly parallel, in 1 *Chro.* 20, 5: where we read properly --- *Elbanan the son of Jaor, slew Lahmi, the brother of Goliath of Gath.* See *Dissertat.* p. 78.

From the consideration of the Samar. Pentateuch, and Parallel Passages in the Heb. Text, let us proceed now to *the Greek version*; which claims our attention in the next place, in point of importance, and also in point of time. After many voluminous controversies amongst learned writers upon *the Greek version of the old Testament*, we seem to have 3 circumstances clearly ascertain'd --- that there was no Greek version before that call'd *the LXX* --- that the version so denominated, was made at the beginning of the reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, about 280 years before Christ --- and that the version, then made, was only of *the Pentateuch*.

The learned Dr. Hody, who seems to have studied the origin of the Greek version more fully than any critic before him, has establish'd the 3 preceding points, in his book (*De Biblior. textibus orig. & versionibus*) pag. 570, 91, and 159. He seems also to have labour'd very successfully, in detecting the false story of Aristas;

teas; which is --- *that the Gr. version was made by LXXII Jewish elders, at the command of Ptolemy*: pag. 1 --- 110. He proves (pag. 97) that this version was made *by the Jews living at Alexandria*, for the use of themselves, and the many thousands of their brethren, who were then settled in Egypt; and who, living amongst Greeks, generally us'd the Greek language. And lastly he proves, that the whole Heb. Bible was not translated into Greek, *at once*; but that different parts were translated at different times --- that *the Pentateuch* was translated first, about 283 years before Christ --- that only the Pentateuch was read in the synagogues, till about 170 years before Christ; when Antiochus Epiphanes, their cruel persecutor, forbad them to recite any part of the Law --- that, soon after this prohibition, the Jews translated into Greek *Isaiah and the following prophets*, for the use of the temple at Heliopolis and the Alexandrian synagogues --- and that *the other books* were translated afterwards, with different degrees of skill and care, at various times, and by various persons. See pag. 175, 190, 203.*

* Amongst other arguments, to prove the diversity of translators, may be reckon'd the different translation of remarkable words, and the different expression of the same Heb. letters in

This version of the old Testament, thus gradually introduc'd into the world, however superior in value one part may be to another, is (when taken together) a treasure truly inestimable. And we find Hody, with a warm sense of his obligation, thus expressing his pious gratitude --- *Versionem Græcam quantivis pretii thesaurum lubens fateor ego, atque etiam profiteor; & pro ea equidem Deo O. M. ex animo gratias ago: pag. 364.*

When we meditate attentively on the state of the world, and the history of divine Providence; we cannot but adore That Wisdom, which from time to time protected REVELATION with such different securities — which guarded *the Pentateuch* of the Jews by a counterpart lodg'd safely in the hands of the Sama-

proper names. Thus פְּלִשְׁתִּים *Philistines* is render'd in the *Pentateuch* and *Joshua* Φυλιστιμ, but in all the other books αλλοφύλοι. Thus פֶּסַח *Passover* is render'd in the *Chronicles* פֶּסַח, but in every other book πῆχμα. Thus the termination of local and family names is uniformly distinguish'd, in a catalogue of the same men, by the translators of *Samuel* and *Chronicles*: for Θικωι, Αναθωδι, Νετωφωδι, Φαρεθωνι, Βαροαμι, Σαλασωνι (with many others in *Chron.*) are in *Samuel* Θικωιτης, Αναθωδιτης, Νετωφωδιτης &c. And not only a difference in rendering particular words, but also in expressing particular letters, will distinguish translators in the Greek, as clearly as in our own *Eng.* version; where the same men, whom the translator of *Genesis* calls *Setb*, *Enos*, *Cainan*, *Methuselah*, are call'd by the translator of *Chronicles* *Sheth*, *Enosh*, *Kenan*, and *Methuselah*.

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ritans ---- and guarded *the Prophecies* in the rest of the Heb. Text, by a public translation of them into Greek; before there could arise any temptation to omit or falsify, out of enmity to Christianity. To which we must add: that since the original perfection of the sacred writings could not have been perpetuated, without a constant miracle subsisting thro' the world; so, as corruptions have encreas'd, translations have encreas'd likewise; and these translations have also been guarded by translations made from *them* --- all which primary and secondary translations, when carefully examin'd and accurately compar'd together, will greatly repair the injuries made by time in *the Original*, and rescue many of its genuine readings from the carelessness of some transcribers and the violence of others. And if the *Latin* and *Arabic* versions will sometimes perform these beneficial services; much more the *Syriac*, which was made yet more early: and if the *Syriac*, more serviceable still must be the *GREEK*; because *that*, being made still more early, was probably form'd upon copies less corrupted. 'Tis true; the honour of this version is truly great in contributing so extensively to the true explanation of the Heb. Text. But then, and then only, does it appear in its full
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and proper glory; when we view it both as *the interpreter* of many words otherwise obscure, and also as *the corrector* of many words long since corrupted.

But here — I am aware of objections, which have fill'd whole volumes; from whence they have been retail'd over and over, and may again, in *extemporaneous pamphlets*; in order to decry every attempt to correct the Heb. text by *the Greek* and other versions. Question, after question, will be again put imperiously by *the men of zeal without knowledge*; saying --- Can a man be so *blasphemous*, as to prefer a version before the inspir'd text? And so *much a fool*, as to think the stream superior to the fountain? Can he be so *very absurd*, as to think that the translators could not err? And so *extreamly ignorant*, as not to know that the ancient versions are themselves corrupted? What *reason*, what *motive*, can he have, for exalting human versions, and degrading the word of God! Now tho' men, who can ask, and have ask'd questions, in a manner more illiberal and abusive than is here describ'd, do not deserve an answer: yet, as my present endeavour is to establish those great and general principles, on which an examination and correction of the printed Heb. text

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should proceed; I shall make a few remarks on versions in general, and on the Greek version in particular.

Versions, like all other compositions, may be good or bad, valuable or contemptible. A man, who pretends to translate, but generally quits his author's sentiments to express his own, is *a writer but not a translator*. Whereas a just version, like a faithful mirror, reflects the very image, conveys the very sentiments, and frequently ascertains the very words of the original author. Every version of a very ancient author, who is at all respectable, is acceptable to the curious; and if it has been well made, and carefully preserv'd, is esteem'd highly. The more valuable this ancient author may be (whether elegant Classic, or venerable Philosopher) the more happy is the man of literature, who possesses *one good version*; but still happier, if he chance to possess *more*: because such versions, if ancient, will explain many parts (in the original) difficult to be understood, and correct many passages corrupted by transcribers.

But, amongst all the ancient books in the world, THE HOLY BIBLE stands unrivall'd in its *antiquity* as well as its *importance*. In this sacred volume, the most ancient part of it will
most

most want the assistance of ancient versions; because it is now *more obscure*, and because it probably is now *much more corrupted*. This greater obscurity arises naturally from our being least acquainted with customs, which are the remotest from our own times. And the greater corruption may be presum'd, not merely from the higher antiquity, but also from circumstances peculiar to the Heb. letters and language: in which, words generally consist of very few letters --- many of the letters are very similar to one another --- and words acquire a very different signification, thro' the change or transposition only of a single letter.

Now from these several circumstances there results a particular propriety, in collecting every ancient version of the Heb. Bible, and collating all the copies of each of them; that so, when the versions themselves are corrected, they may be applied successfully to the illustration and correction of the Heb. Text. That version of the Heb. Text, which is most ancient, is likely to have been made from copies least corrupted; and *the Greek version*, being confessedly the most ancient, is the most worthy of our attentive examination.

That the Greek and other ancient versions vary greatly, in some places, from the mo-

dern Heb. text, is certain. They therefore, who espouse the notion of the perfection of this Heb. text, labour to depreciate these versions, as made so arbitrarily, and so paraphrastically, and so ignorantly, and as being now so very much corrupted, that they cannot furnish out *one various reading* in the Heb. text with any tolerable certainty. But the opinion, diametrically opposite to this, has been maintain'd so decisively by Cappellus, Walton and Houbigant, * that no judicious man can withhold his assent. There had long been wanting but one thing to establish firmly the authority of these versions; and that was --- to produce instances from *Heb. MSS* of some of those readings, which differ from the printed Heb. text; and yet are the very words, which the authors of these versions have translated.

Buxtorf, with his contemporary advocates for the Hebrew integrity, sensible how much depended upon this point, affirm'd it *impossible* to produce any such instances. But this affirmation must be now withdrawn; because the merit of these versions stands fully ascertain'd. For in the Heb. MSS, even now ex-

* Cappelli *Critica Sacra*, pag. 570.

Walton's *Prolegomena*, 6; 8, 9, 10.

Houbigant's *Prolegomena*, pag. 107.

isting, there are preserv'd *many* of the very readings, which were anciently translated from the Hebrew in the Greek and the other versions. Of these I produc'd a variety of instances, in my Dissertation, and have since collected many more. Those, which I before publish'd, have appear'd so satisfactory, and have been judg'd so decisive in this controversy; that the learned Writer, who did me the honour to insert a very particular and favourable account of my book in the *Relationes de Libris novis*, printed at Gottingen (1754) has express'd himself thus ---- *At jam conticescant, necesse est, voces hæ Buxtorfianæ; postquam, non paucis in locis, cum versionibus antiquis (contra consuetam lectionem Hebraicam) codices Hebræos facere noster ostendit. --- Exemplorum liber plenus: nec tamen (quod bene subjungit auctor) ex versionibus suos Judæi librarii codices (in quibus easdem lectiones invenit) corrumpere aut voluerunt, aut potuerunt, Græca non intelligentes: neque iidem codices cum eadem semper versione conspirant (quod futurum erat, si lectiones ex versionibus in illos manassent) sed modo cum hac, modo cum alia.**

As this kind of evidence, which I then produc'd, was new; and yet, as it seems to be

* Fasciculus nonus, i. e. primus anni 1754; pag. 8.

the strongest argument to prove --- that the authors of the ancient versions did frequently read differently from our printed Heb. Text; I shall throw together *some* of the many various readings (in the Heb. MSS) which were produc'd in my Dissertation, as being the very readings express'd in the GREEK version. The first number in each line refers to that page of the Dissertation, which treats of the particular corruption, and specifies the particular MSS.

408. *Lev.* 4, 29 : אשר ישחט העלה — — 1 Heb. MS.
 439. *Jos.* 15, 47 : הגדול (הנבול) 7 Heb. MSS.
 445. *Jud.* 1, 22 : בני (בית) — 2 Heb. MSS.
 15, 6 : ובית אביה (not בית) 4 Heb. MSS.
 446. 15, 11 : להם שמשון (not שמשון) 1 Heb. MS.
 16, 18 : הגיד לי (לה) — 4 Heb. MSS.
 20, 13 : בני (not printed) — 4 Heb. MSS.
 450. *Ruth* 4, 4 : תגאל (יגאל) — 2 Heb. MSS.
 451. 1 *Sam.* 2, 3 : ולו *ei* (ולא *non*) 4 Heb. MSS.
 2, 16 : לא *non* (לו *ei*) 3 Heb. MSS.
 452. 12, 10 : ויאמרו (ויאמר) 6 Heb. MSS.
 454. 17, 7 : עץ (חץ) — 1 Heb. MS.
 463. 2 *Sam.* 14, 26 : בשקל (באבן) 1 Heb. MS.
 472. 23, 13 : שלשה 3 (שלושים) 3 Heb. MSS.
 23, 18 : השלשי (השלשה) — 3 Heb. MSS.
 23, 21 : איש *vir* (אשר *qui*) — 5 Heb. MSS.
 476. 1 *Kin.* 12, 7 : וידברו (וידבר) 3 Heb. MSS.
 12, 21 : ויבא (ויבאו) 5 Heb. MSS.
 477. 12, 23 : מלבו (מלבר) 2 Heb. MSS.
 481. 2 *Kin.* 19, 31 : צבאות (not printed) — 3 Heb. MSS.
 484. 1 *Chro.* 6, 57 : not the spurious word יהודה 5 Heb. MSS.
 486. 11, 3 : המלך (not printed) — 1 Heb. MS.
 487. 11, 20 : אבישי (אבשי) 5 Heb. MSS.
 11, 20 : ולו *ei* (ולא *non*) 2 Heb. MSS.

483. 2 *Chro.* 11, 18 : בת *filia* (בן *filius*) — 2 Heb. MSS.
 494. *Job* 42, 2 : ידעתי (printed ידעת) 4 Heb. MSS.
 496. *Psal.* 16, 10 : חסידך (printed חסידך) 17 Heb. MSS.
 500. 22, 17 : כארו (printed כארי) 4 Heb. MSS.
 504. 79, 7 : אכלו (printed אכל) — 1 Heb. MSS.
 503. *Isai.* 7, 13 : יהוה (printed אלהי) 1 Heb. MS.
 512. 65, 25 : יחדו (printed כאחד) — 1 Heb. MS.
 511. *Jer.* 7, 22 : הוציא (printed הוציא) 4 Heb. MSS.
 512. 21, 12 : מעלליכם (printed מעלליהם) 4 Heb. MSS.
 513. 31, 38 : באים (not printed) 3 Heb. MSS.
 516. *Ezek.* 42, 16 : חמש אמות (חמש אמות) 3 Heb. MSS.
 48, 16 : חמש (חמש חמש) — 8 Heb. MSS.

To the preceding long list of instances, in which the present Heb. MSS differ from the printed Heb. Text, but agree with the Greek version, I shall now add others, which I have discover'd since the publication of the former.

- Exod.* 9, 24 : במצרים - - - *Harl.* 5706.
 10, 18 : ויצא משה - - - *Harl.* 5709.
 12, 3 : עדת בני - - - *Harl.* 5709.
 12, 46 : עדת בני - - - *Harl.* 5709.
 13, 5 : יהוה אלהיך -- *Harl.* 5706.
 20, 11 : ואת הים - - - *Bodl.* 5233.
 20, 18 : כל העם - - - *Harl.* 5709.
 31, 8 : כל כליו - - - *Harl.* 5706.
Lev. 9, 21 : יהוה את משה - *Harl.* 5706.
Deut. 5, 8 : פסל וכל - - - 5 MSS.
 5, 23 : מתוך האש - - - *Harl.* 5709.
 6, 12 : יהוה אלהיך -- 2 MSS.
 6, 13 : ולו תדבק - - - *Harl.* 5709.
Prov.

Prov. 15, 20 : וּבֶן כַּסִּיל --- See p. 188.

Isai. 29, 11 : אוֹכַל לִקְרוֹת -- *Bodl.* 5945.

34, 16 : כִּי פִי יְהוּדָה -- *Bodl.* 461.

Ezek. 34, 31 : אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם *Harl.* 5509.

But it will be said --- Tho' we are oblig'd by such a multitude of proofs to allow, that the authors of the Gr. version did read differently, as to *single letters* and *single words*; yet what are we to think of this version, where it has *many words* together, and sometimes *whole verses*, which are not in the printed Heb. copies? I answer; that *these* also may have been in the *old* Heb. MSS, tho' omitted in the *later* MSS, and therefore not appearing in the printed text. I shall prove this, in one very remarkable instance, from the present Heb. MSS. In the 21st chapter of *Joshua*; the 36th and 37th verses, tho' clearly necessary to the sense of the chapter, having been accidentally omitted in some ancient copy, are omitted in many later MSS: and being omitted in that copy or copies, on which the Masora was form'd, they have been refus'd admittance into the printed Heb. text, upon Masoretic authority. But these 2 verses are in all the copies of the Gr. version; and because this version is strongly confirm'd by the context, the translator has generally been *suppos'd* to have found
these

these verses in his very ancient MSS. They are inserted in the Heb. text of the Lond. Polyglott; and are admitted likewise into our Eng. Version, in the following manner ---
And out of the tribe of Reuben, Bezer with her suburbs, and Jabazab with her suburbs, Kedemoth with her suburbs, and Mephaath with her suburbs: four cities.

But then; it might be still objected ---- that, supposing the preceding words to have been in the ancient Heb. MSS, yet the Gr. version has still *more words* in one of these verses: and may not *these* be thought an arbitrary insertion? A satisfactory solution of this difficulty was given in my Dissertation (p. 442) where I produc'd 2 Heb. MSS, which had these verses, and *one* of these MSS had also *the four words more*, which had not been taken notice of, as existing in any Heb. MS. And therefore, the Author of the account of my book, publish'd at Gottingen (as mention'd in pag. 327) has noted this circumstance, but in a very inaccurate manner --- *Hoc prorsus novi attulit ex codice suo 62* [not 62, but 5] *quod in versu 36, post Reubenis nomen, hic codex cum græcis interpretibus addit את עיר מקלט urbem refugii* --- whereas, it should have been said ---
את עיר מקלט הרצח *urbem refugii homicidæ.*

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I have lately met with 4 other Heb. MSS, which contain these 2 memorable verses; but with different degrees of perfection. One MS, in the public library at Cambridge, (catalogued E e, 5, 8) has them, as they are printed in our Polyglott; *without* the 4 words above specified: as is the case also of a second MS (Harl. 5498) in the British Museum. In this same repository is a third MS (Harl. 5774) which has the merit of preserving them, *with* the same 4 words. But it is the singular honour of the fourth MS, N° 1528 in the same collection, to have preserv'd still *one word more*; which does not yet appear to be contain'd in any other Heb. MS. And this word, being also express'd in the Gr. version, is a very remarkable addition of authority to that version; and indeed amply justifies it, in this extensive example. For, as the Gr. version reads ---
 την πολιν το Φεγγαδευτηριον του Φονευσαντος την Βοσρη
 EN TH EPHMΩ, so this curious MS reads --
 ארץ עיר מקלט הרצח את בצר במדבר
a city of refuge for the slayer, Bezer IN THE WILDERNESS.

But the Gr. version is not only thus confirm'd by the Heb. MSS, but also by the few Samar. MSS, which are now extant. For in *Exod.* 18, 6; the printed Heb. and printed Samar.

Samar. copies agree in telling us, that *Jethro said unto Moses, I thy father in law Jethro am come unto thee*; and that *then Moses went out to meet Jethro*. This nonsense of *Jethro's talking with Moses before he sees him, and going out to meet him after he had met him*, was noted in my Dissertation (p. 401) where it was observ'd, that as the Gr. version reads *ἰδὼς*, the ancient and genuine word here was probably (not *אני* *ego* but) *הנה* *ecce*: and this I have found to be the very reading in 4 out of 5 Samar. MSS. Again: it was observ'd (p. 366) that in *Gen. 31, 33*; the printed Samar. text has a verb, which is not now in the Hebrew, and is corrupted in the Samaritan. But the verb is preserv'd, and properly, in the Gr. version, which reads *ὑπευμνεύ* *scrutatus est*; which reading is also confirm'd expressly by 4 out of 5 Samar. MSS.

If then the Gr. version may be thus repeatedly confirm'd, when oppos'd by the printed copies both Heb. & Samaritan; it will be thought more likely to contain the genuine readings, *where the Samar. copies agree with it against the Hebrew*. As for instance: we read now in the Heb. text of *Exod. 12, 40* --- *Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, which they sojourned in Egypt, was 430 years*. This

text was prov'd in my Dissertation (p. 397) to be defective; and that the Samar. text and Gr. version contain the true reading, thus ---
Now the sojourning of the children of Israel and of their fathers, which they sojourned in Egypt and in the land of Canaan, was 430 years. But in other parts of Scripture, where the Samar. text does not extend its assistance; this Gr. version will also correct many a corruption, and supply some omissions.

Thus it has preserv'd 18 words, in *Jud.* 16; 13, 14. I shall insert these words, in a different character, in the midst of the words translated from the present Hebrew: and the words added from the Greek will be pronounc'd *genuine* by most of those, who consider the 7 preceding verses ---- especially, if they consider also, that the omission *begins and ends with the same word*; and the same word, occurring in different places, is a very common cause of omissions in MSS. — *And Delilah said unto Samson, Hitherto thou hast mocked me, and told me lies: tell me, wherewith thou mightest be bound. And he said unto her, If thou weavest the seven locks of my head with the web [and fasten them with a pin, unto the wall; then shall I be weak, and be as another man. And it came to pass, WHEN*

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HE SLEPT, that Delilah took seven locks of his head, and wove them with a web] *and fastened them with a pin* [unto the wall] *and said, The Philistines be upon thee, Samson. And he AWAKED OUT OF HIS SLEEP &c.* I shall add one instance more, taken from 2 Kin. 23, 16; and supply the omission from the Greek in the same manner. *And as Josiah turned himself, he spied the sepulchres --- and took the bones, and burnt them upon the altar, and polluted it; according to the word of the Lord, which the man of GOD proclaimed* [when Jeroboam stood, on the feast, by the altar. And he turned, and lifted up his eyes to the sepulchre of the man of God] *who proclaimed these words.*

Such assistances as THESE will the Greek version contribute, towards correcting the errors in the present Heb. text; and thus powerful is the evidence to prove, that the Heb. copies, from which this version was made, did read differently from the modern copies: the ancient ones being free from most of the corruptions which were introduc'd, and containing many words which were omitted, in after times. Such is the high honour, to which (I am firmly persuaded) the Greek version is entitled; and this, even in its present condition.

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For I am at the same time fully convinc'd, and do freely acknowledge, that the authors of this version were fallible men --- that they might sometimes mistake *the true reading*, and sometimes *the true sense*, of their Heb. text --- and, that what they did read, and translate accurately, has been since *corrupted in various instances*.

In short: if this version now agrees with the present Hebrew in several places, where both are corrupted; either the Hebrew must have been corrupted (in this first period) before this version from it was made; or else, this version must in such instances have been conform'd to the corrupted Hebrew since. Some instances might be brought, to confirm each of these suppositions. And yet --- notwithstanding this and the former concessions, unfavourable to this celebrated version; it will be but justice to maintain, that *the Heb. text must be now indebted to it for many of its genuine readings*. Some parts of this version were made more early than others: and, as the Heb. text was corrupted gradually; such parts of the version as were most early, were probably made from that text when least corrupted.

With these limitations and cautions we
may,

may, and 'tis our duty to, apply to this version both for illustration and correction of the Heb. text i.e. to compare the original with its various versions, and with this version in particular. Sir I. Newton tells us (Chronol. p. 343) --- *The ancient Heb. copy, follow'd by the Seventy, differing in some readings from the copy follow'd by the editors of the present Hebrew; I have deduc'd what relates to the outward court from the present Hebrew and the version of the Seventy compar'd together. I shall only add the words of the reformer Zwinglius: Infiniti sunt loci, quibus manifeste deprehenditur Septuaginta & ALITER, & MELIUS, legisse quam Rabbini postea legerint: quæ omnia probe norunt, qui integro judicio ipsorum interpretationem cum Hebræis conferunt. These words are quoted by Dr. Grabe; who says --- Zwinglius, magnæ auctoritatis theologus, suum de LXX interpretibus dans judicium, HÆC INTER ALIA RECTISSIME PROTULIT.**

In order the more compleatly to confirm the importance of the several various readings before given from the Heb. MSS, in justification of the Greek version; as I have already shewn the sentiments of the Learned at Göttingen, I shall close this subject with the sen-

* Vid. postscript. Grabe, suæ LXX editioni præfix.

timents

timents of the Learned at *Leipfic*. For I am under great obligations to some Gentleman in this latter University, as well as to one in the former, for the honour done me in an account of my Dissertation. The second account was publish'd in the *Nova Acta Eruditorum, Lipsia*, 1755: in which, at pag. 244, is the following passage --- *Capellus existimabat, legitimum medium in constituenda vera lectione Vet. Test. hoc esse, ut curiosius antiquissimæ versiones conferantur cum hebraicis originibus; Et si quando ab his recedant, ubi nulla appareat ratio varietatis studiose quæsitæ, colligendum ex eo esse, auctores in exemplis suis hanc variam scriptionem invenisse; nobisque licere ad eas recurrere, si nullus sensus ex hebraica lectione vulgari possit erui. Opposuerat se Capello Buxtorfius, qui auctoritatem antiquissimarum versionum parum valere contra nostrum codicem existimabat, quod nullum extaret in MSS hodiernis vestigium earum varietatum, quæ in versionibus inveniuntur. Atque hoc argumentum ita urgebat Capellum, ut victoria anceps maneret. Quid si Buxtorfio nostris paulisper interesse circulis liceret? Quid si Dissertationis hujus auctorem famæ Capelli egregie consulentem videret? Quid si MSS auctoritates, quas desiderabat tantopere, suis rationibus contrarias esse intelligeret? Scilicet, hoc ipsum*

*sum Anglus studiose agit (p. 280. seqq.) ut probet, in Codd. scriptis adhuc extantibus, non unam vel paucas, sed plures reperiri variantes lectiones, diversas quidem a libris nostris impressis, sed optime consentientes cum antiquissimis versionibus, imprimis LXX: ex quo effecit, auctores earum versionum in suis exemplis aliter legisse; nisi quis dicere malit, variantes lectiones a Judæis, in gratiam istarum versionum, codicibus MSS insertas fuisse; quod valde absurdum foret, *uti docetur pag. 267, & 268.*

I have been the more particular in stating the real merit of *the Greek Version*, because of its most intimate connexion with the real merit (and therefore with the proper history) of *the Heb. Text*. And now, from this truly-venerable Version, I proceed to mention *the Chaldee Paraphrase*. For tho' I have prov'd this paraphrase to have been corrupted greatly, and corrupted in conformity to very late Heb. copies; yet I allow'd it to have considerable use (even in its present state) both in illustrating many obscure passages, and correcting some mistakes: see pag. 220.

I introduce this paraphrase, under this first period; because the Jews seem to have wanted *some Chald. paraphrase* rather at this time than

any other. But whether any part of what is come down to us was made *thus early*, is quite uncertain: 'tis certain, that the whole could not be. If the Pentateuch, and a few other parts, were of this high antiquity; 'tis then certain, that they have been very greatly corrupted. Had this whole paraphrase been in fact so early, and descended nearly perfect; it would have been then one of the surest guides, in ascertaining the sense of what is still genuine, and correcting what is now corrupted. Indeed there is one advantage peculiar to the Samar. and Chald. paraphrases; that, being in the same character with the text from which they were made, *the letters themselves and their position in the words* will sometimes detect errors, where the sense alone may be incapable of doing it. And it is partly upon these principles (the likeness of the Heb. letters in shape and sound) that Cappellus has given a catalogue of *the various readings*, which are discoverable in the Heb. copies by means of the Chald. paraphrase: *Crit. sacr.* p. 328 --- 354. I shall select 6 instances from Cappellus, referring to him for the particular explanation of them.

Gen. 27, 40: מריד for תריד.

Jos. 9, 4: הצטירו for הצטידו.

I Sam.

1 Sam. 6, 18: אבן for אבל.

15, 9: השמנים for המשנים.

Ecclef. 6, 10: מאשר for אשר.

Amos 8, 8: כיאור for כאור.

To these might be added many others, not noted by Cappellus, in the printed copies. And I have already mention'd a great many differences in the MSS of this paraphrase, which will help to ascertain various readings in the Heb. text. See pag. 175 to 192.

There yet remain 2 circumstances, which should be mention'd as respecting this period. The first is --- that books were anciently written *without any distinction of words*, in the manner of the Greek MS quoted pag. 214. The Heb. text was probably written in the same manner; and such a tradition is thus mention'd by Elias Levita: כל התורה כפסוק אחר ויש אומרים תיבה אחת *Tota lex ut versus unus; & ut quidam dicunt, ut dictio una.* The consequence of this has been, that the Jews afterwards introduc'd some corruptions, by associating letters improperly: and 'tis remarkable, that the Masorets reckon above 20 sets of letters, as made *two words* instead of one, or *one* instead of two.

The last remark shall be --- that the sacred

books were probably written, during this first period on skins, or leaves of vellum, fasten'd by the sides to each other, and *roll'd up* into (what were then properly call'd) *volumes*. The consequence of which has probably been, that several transpositions have been made, on account of the sheets being sometimes join'd together out of their proper order of succession. Some of the transpositions in the Pentateuch, in which the Heb. and Samar. copies now differ, may possibly be owing to this cause; as may also some remarkable transpositions in the other sacred books: especially where the order has been for 1500 years very different in the Heb. copies from what it was in the Greek. Thus the learned Grabe, in his *Dissertation De vitiis LXX interpretum* (pag. 11) says --- *Transpositiones textuum quod attinet, illam quidem in postremis Exodi capp. non notariorum, sed eorum, qui membranas seorsim exaratas in unum volumen compegerunt, negligentiae ortum debere animadverti.* That the sacred books were written anciently on skins of vellum sew'd together, is plain from *Josephus*; who says (*Antiq.* 12, 2, 11) that the Heb. copy of the Law, which was sent from Jerusalem to Ptolemy (to be translated into Greek) was *in letters of gold, upon skins of vellum wonderfully thin*.

*thin and fine; and that the suture, or conjunction, of the several skins was so artful as to be scarce discoverable. And that the sacred books, thus written, were roll'd up into volumes (like the modern Pentateuchs us'd in the Jewish synagogues) till the conclusion of this period, appears from Luk. 4, 17: where we read, that when the book of *Isaiah* was deliver'd to our blessed Saviour, to read in the synagogue, he opened the book --- i. e. as the word *ἀνέπτυξας* is allow'd to imply --- he UNFOLDED or UNROLLED the volume. But, this circumstance falling rather within the *second* period; I shall here conclude the history of the Heb. text, during the first period, namely, from the time of *Malachi* to the time of *Christ*.*

PERIOD II.

From the Beginning of the Christian Æra
To the Year after Christ 400.

The first circumstance, observable in this second period (and it is a circumstance of the greatest consequence, in an examination of the Heb. Text) relates to the quotations made in the new Testament from the old by our Saviour and his Apostles. But it is not my intention to consider all that has been offer'd,
by

by numerous writers, on this extensive and very interesting subject: and indeed the nature of my present scheme will only admit a few observations.

The general opinion seems to be --- that the writers of the new Testament *quoted universally from the Greek version* of the old; which therefore ('tis said) gives the highest authority to *that version*. But men, who have examin'd more judiciously, state the matter thus ---- that the quotations are sometimes *from the Greek version*, and sometimes *from the Heb. text*. And these authors conclude, that all is well, tho' such quotations are made from the Greek, where that differs from the Hebrew; because (say they) both *the text* and *the version* are, in such places, ALWAYS THE SAME IN SENSE.

But whoever examines these quotations fully, will find --- that some of them are *not the same in sense* with the words of the present Heb. text. And therefore I presume, that the only true method of stating this point, and doing justice to our Saviour and his Apostles, in their references to the old Testament, is to say --- that, for whatever purpose such quotations were made (whether by way of express prophecy, or only of allusion and accommodation)

dation) they were *always consonant to the true sense of the Heb. text*. For 'tis scarce possible to conceive, how any speaker or writer can quote justly such and such words, as from *Moses* (for instance) or *Isaiah*; when the words quoted *are not the words* of *Moses* or *Isaiah*, and do not express *even the sense* of *Moses* or *Isaiah*; but are only taken from some version, which (upon the present supposition) was no version at all in these instances, because it did not agree here in sense with its Original.

The cause of the general (and indeed almost universal) mistake, on this great article, is no other than that fruitful parent of error, *the notion of the integrity of the modern Heb. text*. For the writers, who have held this to be *perfect*, have never been able, and (I apprehend) never will be able, to vindicate the Apostolical quotations. Passages, quoted from the sacred Jewish writers by inspir'd men, must have been quoted agreeably to the sense of the Heb. text. But such quotations do not agree in sense with the printed Heb. text. Therefore some alterations have happened, either in the Gr. text of the new Testament, or the Heb. text of the old. What say the Deists here? *The Heb. text*, says Mr. Collins *

* See the preceding pages 104 — 108.

has certainly been deliver'd down perfect; and therefore, says he, *the quotations are either forg'd or falsified in the new Testament*. On the contrary; as it appears from a collation of the Greek MSS of the new Testament, that the words of the quotations *are not* corrupted in the *Greek* text; so will it appear, from a collation of the Heb. MSS, that the words *have been* corrupted in the *Hebrew*. And if this be truth; it is surely a solution, which should recommend itself to the approbation of all Christians.

That it is true; I have already (at p. 107) given one very signal proof --- in *one word*, which is printed in the Hebrew, not only in a sense different from that given of it by two Apostles, but also in a sense subversive of the argument which they build upon that very difference. If therefore the Apostolical reasoning upon this word was well grounded, and if the word in the Hebrew was anciently as they both quoted it; it must have been since corrupted. And indeed this turns out to be a corruption of *a very late date*, being found only in a few of the latest MSS. For amongst 31 Heb. MSS, in which I have found this word; the *oldest* and *best* MSS, and the far greater number, namely *Twenty Seven*, read
it

it expressly as the Apostles have quoted it.

This argument, in vindication of the Apostolical quotations, which is founded on *the many corruptions prov'd in the later Heb. MSS*, seems to establish this great point (hitherto variously agitated) upon a firm and solid foundation. That the writers of the new Testament did not make it *a constant rule* to quote from the Greek version, is certain; as appears from the many places, where their quotations *differ from that version* and *agree with the Hebrew*. And as the quotations now agree with the Hebrew, frequently in the express words, generally in the sense; so 'tis most probable, that *they universally agreed at first* --- and that, where the Hebrew was express'd properly in the Gr. version, *they us'd the words of that version* --- and, where that version was not proper, *they translated for themselves*.

In support of the preceding sentiments, I shall produce the authority of St. Jerom, in the several following sentences --- *Per spicuum est illa magis vera esse exemplaria, quæ cum novi Testamenti auctoritate concordant.* Crebro, Eusebium, dixisse me novi, Apostolos & Evangelistas ubique de veteri Instrumento ponunt testimonia, si inter Hebraicum & LXX nulla*

* Edit. Benedict. tom. 2, col. 507.

*diversitas sit, vel suis vel LXX interpretum verbis uti solitos. Sin autem aliter in Hebraico, aliter in veteri editione sensus est, Hebraicum magis quam LXX sequi.*¹ *Jure LXX editio obtinuit in ecclesiis, vel quia prima est, & ante Christi facta adventum; vel quia ab Apostolis (in quibus tamen ab Hebraico non discrepat) usurpata. --- Non damno LXX; sed confidenter cunctis illis Apostolos præfero. --- Apostolici viri scripturis utuntur Hebraicis: ipsos Apostolos & Evangelistas hoc fecisse perspicuum est. Salvator, ubique veteris Scripturæ meminit, de Hebraicis voluminibus ponit exempla. --- Nec hoc dicimus, quod LXX interpretes suggillemus, sed quod Apostolorum & Christi major sit auctoritas: & ubique LXX ab Hebræo non discordant, ibi Apostolos de interpretatione eorum exempla sumfisse: ubi vero discrepant, id posuisse in Græco, quod apud Hebræos didicerant. Sicut ergo ego ostendo, multa in novo Testamento posita de veteribus libris, quæ in LXX non habentur; & hæc scripta in Hebraico doceo: sic accusator ostendat aliquid scriptum esse in novo Testamento de LXX interpretibus, quod in Hebraico non babeatur: & finita contentio est.*² I shall subjoin the following testimony from Origen, who

¹ Edit. Benedic. tom. 3, col. 390.

² Tom. 4, col. 255, 423, 433.

says -- Εσημειώσαμεν δὲ, ὅτι ἐπὶ τινῶν οἱ ἀποστόλοι τὸ
ΕΒΡΑΙΚΟΝ, καὶ οὐ τὸ ἐν τῇ κοινῇ, τεθείκασιν. *

There is an objection, which has been frequently made against the supposition of errors existing in the Heb. text during the time of Christ: which objection is founded upon this --- that *Christ never reprov'd the Jews* for permitting their sacred books to be corrupted. *Christ*, say the objectors, *certainly would have censur'd their want of care*, if they had deserv'd it; but, there being *no such censure*, there was *no such carelessness*; and, as the transcribers had taken proper care, *consequently there were then no corruptions*. I answer, that some things are here presum'd, which are not certain; and that the whole is very inconclusive. For since the utmost human care will not render transcribers infallible, the most careful transcribers might have made some mistakes: and yet, as this was only chargeable on human frailty, how could it justly merit our Saviour's reprehension? Besides; as *the most corrupted MS*, now extant, would teach all the important doctrines and duties; the MSS in the time of Christ, being much less corrupted, would teach them with far greater exactness: And therefore, tho' there might be then mistakes and

* Blanchini's *Vindiciæ*, pag. 234.

corruptions in the Heb. MSS; yet these, not being in *the weightier matters of the law*, might not be thought proper objects of divine animadversion.

But let us consider, what would naturally have been the consequence; had Christ severely censur'd the Jews, upon this occasion. Would not the Jews at once have said --- that he found fault with their Bible, because it was not for his purpose? Would they not have said --- that, tho' he appeal'd to Moses and the Prophets; yet it was plain, he could not make out his pretensions, without altering their Scriptures? This very bad consequence would probably have resulted from such a conduct. And therefore, as the Heb. MSS were uncorrupted in the chief points; and as there was the evidence of the Samar. text and version, together with the Gr. version and the Heb. text itself, to assist men in correcting the corruptions then introduc'd; our Saviour's silence, on this head, is accounted for. The MSS then extant would fully teach *the Jews their duty*, and would effectually prove *Jesus* to be *The Messiah*. It was therefore left to *Mahomet*, to that *false* prophet, who could not make out a proper title, it was left to HIM, to accuse the Jews of having alter'd and corrupted their

their sacred books * --- a contrariety of *Conduct* this, which was well adapted to the contrariety of real *Character*; and which seems fully to justify the preceding observations.

Philo, of Alexandria, being born about 30 years before Christ, probably wrote about the year of Christ 40. Some will not allow this famous Jew to have been at all acquainted with the Heb. language; but Hody (p. 229) is of opinion, that he certainly understood Hebrew, tho' not very skilfully. The many quotations therefore, which this early writer made from the old Testament, will assist us in detecting some corruptions; and, if none of his quotations should have been regulated by the Heb. text, yet will they be highly serviceable in ascertaining the ancient readings of the Gr. version.

In my Dissertation, p. 347; there were several remarks, to prove the genuineness of 2 words omitted in the Hebrew, but preserv'd in the Samar. text, of *Gen.* 8. 4: which words (notwithstanding the many forc'd construc-

* That Mahomet did thus accuse the Jews, see *The Koran*; Surat 2, ver. 79; Surat 3, ver. 70; Surat 5, ver. 14. See also Maracci's *Prodrom.* pag. 7, 33: and Sale's *Prelim. Discourse*, pag. 74, 75, 76.

tions,

tions, and angry protests, made by some writers) seem to me most undoubtedly genuine. The Gr. version agrees with the Samar. text; reading *Διελθωμεν εις το παιδιον*. And Philo also reads *Διελθωμεν επι το παιδιον*, *vol. 1. p. 191, edit. Mangey*. I shall only remark farther, that Philo speaks of *The Law* as divided, before his time, into 5 parts or books: see *vol. 2, p. 1*.

Clemens Romanus wrote his 2 celebrated epistles, about the year of Christ 65. And amongst the other quotations from the old Testament, made by this Apostolical writer, we find this ---- *Και ειπεν καιν προς Αβελ του αδελφου αυτου, Διελθωμεν εις το παιδιον* --- which last word the Alexandrian MS (from which these epistles are taken) reads here for *παιδιον*. See this quotation, in the curious edition of Clement publish'd by Wotton, p. 19; where there is an excellent note, enumerating the authorities in favour of the preceding words.

The next writer, necessary to be mention'd here, on account of the great connection of his history with that of the old Testament, is the celebrated Jewish Priest, *Flavius Josephus*; who wrote his *Antiquities* about the year of Christ 94. Had this work of Josephus been now uncorrupted, it would have contributed extreamly

to-

towards correcting the Heb. text : and, even in its present state, its assistance will be very considerable. It has been asserted by some writers ; that Josephus, knowing little or nothing of Hebrew, always follow'd the Greek version. But one should think, that some credit should be due to so eminent a writer, when he himself asserts frequently, that *he translated from the Hebrew*. At the very beginning of his Antiquities, he tells us --- that *that work contains the universal antiquity of their nation, translated out of the HEBREW letters*. And (lib. 10, 10, 6) he says ---- that *he inserted what he found in the ANCIENT books, being only an interpreter into Greek from the HEBREW volumes*. If then Josephus translated always, or generally, from the Heb. text ; his authority will have the greater weight : and indeed his account is highly probable in several places, where the modern Hebrew seems to be corrupted. To instance, in one very remarkable particular.

Every man, who has consider'd the quantity of gold and silver, said (1 Chron. ch. 22 and 29) to have been left by David for building the Temple, must have been astonish'd at the sum total, when reduc'd to our common standard. Walton has prefix'd to his Polyglott
the

the following account from the learned Brerewood, in the 32d page of a treatise *De ponderibus & pretiis veterum Nummorum*.

Auri talenta 100,000 - - 450,000,000.

Argenti 1,000,000 - - 375,000,000.

Auri talenta 3,000 - - 13,500,000.

Argenti 70,000 - - 2,625,000.

Total, pounds sterling 841,125,000.

Brerewood remarks thus -- *Si ex solido argento fuissent integri Templi parietes & pavimenta; si ex auro solido tectum integrum & supellectile fuisset conflatum: illi tamen acervi pro opere & operariis non suffecissent abunde tantum, verum longe superassent. Consideravi templi dimensiones; & cum ea auri & argenti mole, in solidam massam conflata, comparavi; & hanc supra illud multum excrevisse reperi. Verum & ex paupertate sua, David ipse dicit, hæc se consecrasse Deo --- At hæc paupertas omnem opulentissimorum regum affluentiam quantum superat! If we take the preceding talents, according to Bp Cumberland's computation; the sum total will be somewhat less. But, were we to reduce it to less than *one half*; would not the sum of FOUR HUNDRED MILLIONS of money be immense and incredible? I shall now add, that we are highly indebted to Josephus, who acquaints us --- that the two first sums were only*

one TENTH part of what is express'd in the present Hebrew: so that 'tis extreamly probable, that *a cipher* was added to them both, in some very ancient Heb. copy; agreeably to what was remark'd, *pag.* 208. The words of Josephus are --- χρυσά ταλάντα μυρία, δέκα ἀργυροῖς μυριάδας ταλάντων --- *auri* 10,000 *talentorum*; *argenti* 100,000. *Lib.* 7, 14, 2.

The next particular, with which the history of the Heb. text is necessarily connected, is *the Syriac version*; which, being very literal and very ancient, is of inestimable value. Tho' the learned mention different versions in Syriac, yet they agree in allowing *that*, printed in the Paris and London Polyglotts, to be (what the Maronites call) *the simple and the ancient version*. Eusebius says (*Eccles. hist.* 4, 22) that Hegesippus (who flourish'd about the year of Christ 160) *quotes the Syriac version* --- ἐκ τοῦ Συριακοῦ τινα πησιν. Pocock, in his preface to *Micah*, considers it as made in or near the Apostolic age. And Walton says (*proleg.* 13, 16) ---- *ab Apostolicis viris factam concedo; quod, præter traditionem generalem ecclesiarum Orientalium (cui multum in hoc tribuendum, cum nulla ratio clara in contrarium offertur) etiam ex insitis argumentis probatur in ipsa versione,*

sione, quæ magnam ejus antiquitatem testantur. As it is therefore probable, that the Syriac version was made about the end of the first century; it might be made from Heb. MSS almost as old, as those which were before translated into Greek; and from MSS, which might be in some places true, where the others were corrupted. And it will be no wonder at all, if a version so very ancient should have preserv'd a great variety of true readings, where the Heb. MSS were corrupted afterwards. To confirm this great point, I shall just mention 6 instances, enlarg'd upon in my Dissertation; and add some others discover'd since.

Thus in 2 *Chro.* 22, 2; where the present Heb. text says, *Abaziah was 42 years old, when he began to reign* (and if this could be true, he must have been born before his father!) the Syr. version reads 22; as the Hebrew itself does in 2 *Kin.* 8, 26.¹ In *Num.* 3, 39; the word ואהרון is not in our oldest Heb. MS, nor in the Samar. text, nor in the Syr. version.² 2 *Sam.* 22, 28; the word תעיר *illuminabis* is preserv'd in this version, and also in 2 Heb. MSS.³ *Prov.* 19, 1: this whole verse, which was corrected by the Syriac, receives abundant confirmation from Heb. MSS:

¹ See Dissert. pag. 98.

² Pag. 411.

³ Pag. 467.

as was before observ'd, pag. 287. ¹ Jer. 26, 1; the word Jehoiakim is read in this version (and perhaps more properly) Zedekiah ² And in 1 Sam. 6, 19; where the Heb. text reads 50,070 Philistines slain for looking into the ark; the Syriac reads 5070. ³

To these I shall now add a few instances more, which are also very remarkable. The first is, Lev. 3, 8; where, as the Syr. version reads --- *and shall slay it before the Lord*; so the Harl. Heb. MS, N°. 5706, reads --- וישחט אתו לפני יהוה. The 2d instance is, 2 Sam. 15, 7; where the text tells us at present, that *after 40 years Absalom said to David &c.* but the Syriac reads, *after FOUR years.* As there is no kind of event, from which the 40 years can be dated, with any shadow of argument; very great has been the distress of the advocates for that reading: and indeed those, who resolve to vindicate every printed blunder, will have difficulties enough upon their hands. But we are happy in finding here that --- Josephus reads 4 years ⁴ ---- that Theodoret reads 4 years ⁵ --- that, in the Benedict. edition of Jerom's version, several Lat. MSS are mention'd,

¹ Dissert. pag. 509. ² Pag. 513. ³ Pag. 532.

⁴ Antiq. 7, 9, 1. ⁵ Interpret. 28 in 2 Sam.

as reading 4 years¹ --- that the canon of the Heb. verity, suppos'd to be made about the 9th century, is said to be alter'd by some *correcting* hand from 4 to 40² --- that *quatuor* was also the reading in the famous Lat. Bible of Sixtus, tho' alter'd by his infallible brother Clement to *quadraginta*, in compliment to (what he calls) *the Hebrew Fountain*³ --- that one Lat. MS in Exeter College library (C. 2, 13) reads *post IIII autem annos* --- and that *quatuor* is also the reading in an ancient Lat. MS, written in the Gothic character, the variations of which are publish'd in Blanchini's *Vindiciæ*, pag. 55 — 207.⁴ So that GROTIUS is well supported, in having pronounc'd so decisively --- *haud dubius error scripturæ, additis*

¹ See the Note, in col. 381, tom. I.

² See pag. 204; and the Note last referr'd to.

³ See the preceding pages 197 — 295.

⁴ The learned Dr. Gregory Majansius says of this MS — *Biblia Latina, characteribus Gothicis scripta fere ante mille annos, extant adhuc in Bibliotheca Complutensi.* My authority for this is a long and valuable Letter, sent to His Majesty's late Ambassador at Madrid, the Honourable Sir Benjamin Keene, in answer to an Enquiry made by His Excellency after the Spanish MSS of the Bible; particularly those, which had been made use of for the Complutensian edition. The Answer to this Enquiry contains many curious particulars; and has been very obligingly communicated to me by His Excellency's Brother, the Lord Bishop of CHESTER.

ad vocem ארבע duabus literis; QUATUOR annos intercessisse, res ipsa loquitur.

The 3d instance, in favour of the Syr. version, shall be 2 Sam. 22, 7; where several Heb. MSS have the words לפני חבא, agreeably to this version, and also to the parallel place Psa. 18, 7. The 4th instance is 2 Chro. 36, 9; where the Heb. text reads --- *Jehoia-
chin was EIGHT years old*; but this version reads EIGHTEEN. Dr. Wall's note on this place is --- *It is in my opinion pity, that the translators have not mended such apparent errata of the scribe of the present Hebrew out of 2 Kings 24, 8; or out of LXX; or out of common sense.*

I shall conclude these few specimens of the great usefulness of this version, with Prov. 26, 5: a text, which is very frequently mention'd, yet perhaps almost universally mistaken. This and the preceding verse contain these celebrated aphorisms --- *Answer not a fool, according to his folly*; --- and *Answer a fool, according to his folly*. I would beg the reader to reflect, whether it be possible for words to express a more clear and absolute contradiction. If such a prohibition, and such a command, had been both really given, unrestrain'd by any circumstances; I should honour that
casuist,

casuist, who could decide --- *how a wise man is bound to answer a fool's question*: since if he answer *foolishly*, he must offend against *the prohibition*; if *wisely*, he must offend against *the command*. If we consider each maxim, with its concomitant reason; we shall find the first perfectly satisfactory, but the second the very reverse of propriety. *Answer not a fool, according to his folly*. And why? *Lest thou also be like unto him*: i. e. lest thou be deservedly thought as great a fool as thy companion. *Answer a fool, according to his folly*. And why? *Lest he be wise* (in his own eyes, or) *in his own conceit*. What! if a man talk foolishly to a fool; will that prevent a fool from thinking himself wise? Certainly, in all the variety of things, there is nothing so likely to make a fool conceited, and to imagine himself a wise man; as to hear a man of acknowledged wisdom talk in the fool's own stile of nonsense and folly. I will presume, the Reader is prepar'd to admire, and to accept with gratitude, the different reading preserv'd by the Syriac version; in which the 2 maxims stand thus.

Answer not a fool, according to his folly;

lest thou also be like unto him.

Answer a fool, according to thine own wisdom;

lest he be wise in his own conceit.

If

If any thing can be yet wanting to recommend this variation (as being certainly genuine) besides the perfect propriety of the Syriac, and that insult upon common sense contain'd in the present Hebrew (a reading, so much the reverse of what it ought to be, that the learned Schultens makes not the least attempt to explain it) if, I say, any additional evidence should be requir'd, in support of this Syriac reading; we may find it in the extraordinary concurrence of *the printed Chald. paraphrase*, whose ancient Heb. copy had *the very same reading*. And, as the present Heb. MSS afford proof, that a word has sometimes been taken in carelessly from the line above; so the last word of the first Hemistic in the second verse is here taken in improperly from the end of the first Hemistic immediately over it, where the same words preceding and following might the more easily mislead the eye of the transcriber.

אל תען כסיל כאולתו פן תשוח לו גם אחרי:
 ענה כסיל כאולתו פן יהיה חכם בעיניו:

If the reader has ever perus'd Bp Bull's life (written by Mr. Nelson) he must recollect here the Quaker's challenge, *to talk Scripture with him*: see p. 81. Mr. Bull, accepting the challenge, requir'd his adversary to reconcile these two texts --- *Answer a fool, and answer not*

not a fool, according to his folly. The Quaker, readily discerning the flat contradiction, answer'd --- that *Solomon never said so.* Mr. Bull then referr'd to the very words; upon sight of which, his antagonist (greatly mortified and astonish'd) reply'd --- *Why, then, Solomon's a fool.* I shall only add: that this enemy to human learning might have spar'd the impertinence of his *second* reply; if he could but have seen the truth of his *first*, namely, that *Solomon never said so.*

From the Syriac version, we might proceed to the *old Italic* (or Latin) version; *that* being (perhaps) the next article in point of time. But as it may be more proper to connect this with the Latin version of St. Jerom; I shall now mention the 3 versions of *Aquila*, *Theodotion* and *Symmachus*. 'Tis observable, that soon after the beginning of the 2d century, the Jews began to censure the Greek version, as not exact and differing greatly from the Heb. text. That this version, tho' their fathers had so much gloried in it, should at this time lose its credit with the Jews, we can easily believe for two reasons. First; because, if they still approv'd of the Gr. version as exact, they must have condemn'd their Heb.
text,

text, which had then suffer'd many alterations. And secondly; because the Christians, generally using the Gr. version, fetch'd from thence their arguments against the Jews: and therefore the Jews thought it good policy to condemn that version as being at first made, or since become, so inaccurate and so faulty, as not safely to be depended upon.

The more effectually to shew their contempt, or rather their detestation, of this celebrated *old* Gr. version, they determin'd upon a *new* one: and indeed, that they might have at least *numbers* on their side, they made *three* to supply the place of the former. The first of these was made, about the year 130, by Aquila; who had been expell'd from amongst the Christians, * and consequently (becoming a Jew) hated the Christians with a double degree of hatred. The second was made, about the year 175, by Theodotion; who was both Jew and Christian, one of those who connect-ed *belief in Christ* with *obedience to the ritual law of Moses*. And the third was made, about the year 200, by Symmachus; who was a renegado from the Samaritans to the Jews.

* *Aquila ab ecclesia Christiana, tanquam ad salutem minime idoneus, ejectus est.* Epiphan. de pond. & mens. c. 14.

The pretence for making these new versions was, that they might approach nearer to the Heb. text: but then, the nearer they approach'd to the text where corrupted, so much the worse. The words נִלְכָּה הַשָּׂדֶה (*Gen. 4. 8*) tho' in the Heb. copies, from whence the old Greek, Syriac, and Italic versions, and also Aquila's version, were translated, were not in the Heb. copies us'd by the 2 other new Greek interpreters. So that *the time of this corruption* is very nearly ascertain'd. 'Tis generally allow'd, that the intention of all the 3 translators was to render differently some passages and words, which were particularly urg'd against the Jews by the Christians; and that one view of *Symmachus* was to interpret so, as to thwart the Samaritans.

Symmachus is here plac'd *after Theodotion*; because *Jerom* says --- *Symmachus in Theodotionis scita concedens*:² which words necessarily imply, that *Theodotion* was the more early. *Montfaucon*³ places the version of *Symmachus* in the 9th year of *Severus*; which is about the year 200 i.e. near 30 years after

¹ Ο Συμμάχος ὡς ἀποφύγει τὴν πρὸς Σαμαριτῶν ἀποκρίσιν — Anecd. Epiphani; Montfauc. prælim. dissert. pag. 89.

² Comment. in Isai. 58; tom. 3, col. 431.

³ Prælim. Dissert. pag. 53.

the version of Theodotion. And 'tis remarkable, that Irenæus (who flourish'd about the year 180) says nothing of Symmachus, but mentions Aquila and Theodotion; when speaking of a word render'd in the same manner by all the three. The sentence is this --- Αλλ' οὐχ' ὡς ἐνιοὶ Φασὶ τῶν νυν μεθερμηνεύειν τολμῶντων τὴν ζαφὴν [Ἰδοὺ ἡ νεανὺς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐξεί] ὡς Θεοδοτίων ἡρμηνεύουσιν καὶ Ἀκυλᾶς.¹ This change of παρθένος into νεανὺς, in the famous prophecy of *Isaiab* (7, 14) and of ὡ ἀποκείται into τα ἀποκειμένα αὐτῷ, in the famous prophecy of *Jacob* (Gen. 49, 10) are charg'd upon Aquila, as first made by *him*, out of enmity to Christianity. The charge is brought frequently, and urg'd strenuously, by *Justin Martyr* in his dialogue with Trypho the Jew; ² and as Justin wrote only about 10 years after Aquila made his version, he is a very credible witness as to the nature of that Jew's alterations.

¹ Irenæus, *edit. Grabe*, pag. 253.

² The following passages are taken from Thirlby's edition, pages 224, 395, 285. Ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ διδασκαλοὶ ὑμῶν τολματεὶ λῆγειν, μαδὶ ἀρεθῆσαι ἐν τῇ φρονησίᾳ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἐξεί, καὶ, Ἰδοὺ ἡ νεανὺς ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται [ἐξεί pag. 319] — Δυνάτεον μοι μαχεῖσθαι ὡς ὑμεῖς περὶ τῆς λέξεως, ἢ ὑμεῖς ἐξηγείσθε, λῆγοντες ἀρεθῆσαι, ἕως ἀν εἰδῇ τα ἀποκειμένα αὐτῷ. Ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οὕτως ἐξηγοῦντο οἱ ἰσοδμηκόντες, καὶ ἕως ἀν εἰδῇ ὅ ἀποκείται. — Διδασκαλοὶ ὑμῶν τολμοῦσι λῆγειν τὴν ἐξηγῆσιν τῶν ἰσοδμηκόντων μὴ εἶναι ἐν ποτὶ ἀληθῆ. Ἀλλ' ἂν ἀφ' ἑρμηνείας φαινομένης ΕΛΕΓΧΟΝΤΑ Αὐτῶν ΓΝΩΜΗΝ, ταῦτα τολμοῦσι λῆγειν ΜΗ Οὕτω ΓΕΓΡΑΦΘΑΙ.

Of the 3 novel Greek versions beforementioned, there are several *fragments* now extant; which, having been quoted by the Fathers, have been collected by Montfaucon, in his *Remains of the Hexapla*. But even these fragments will discover several corruptions; and also acquaint us nearly with the time, when some of the corruptions were introduced: as in the following instance. It was remark'd in my Dissertation, p. 514; that in *Hof.* 13, 14; 'הָנָה *ero* is corrupted from 'הָנָה *ubi*: agreeably to the quotation of St. Paul --- *O death, WHERE is thy sting? O grave, WHERE is thy victory?* Now as the old Greek and the Syriac versions, and also the Greek version of Aquila, translate 'הָנָה *ubi*; and Symmachus (about 70 years after Aquila) translates 'הָנָה *ero*, agreeably to the present reading; this corruption seems clearly to have been introduced between the years 130 and 200.

'Tis observable, that tho' the Jews kept an annual festival in honour of the old Greek version, and in pious thankfulness for so great a blessing; as is recorded by *Philo*:¹ yet (as Mr. *Jackson* tells us²) about the time of the 3 new Greek versions, the Jews not only de-

¹ See pag. 140, 141; tom. 2, edit. Mangey.

² Chronolog. Antiquities; vol. 1. pag. 93.

clar'd the version of the LXX to be full of errors, and forbad the reading of it; but also kept a solemn fast, on the 8th day of *Tebeth* (*December*) in order to curse the memory of its being then made. As it is the opinion of this learned Chronologer, that the ancient Chronology is true, in the manner it is now contain'd in the old Gr. version; so he thinks that the Heb. text was corrupted in its ancient Chronology, about the time of Aquila, from the principle of enmity to the version of the LXX, and also out of opposition to Christianity.* This writer also observes (pag. 92) *that it was easy for the Jews to corrupt their Heb. Bibles, about the middle of the second century.* And indeed, if they did corrupt by *contracting* their chronology, for the two reasons before mention'd; it was probably done during this second century, when the Jews seem to have been particularly furious against the version of the LXX, and when a great part of their Heb. copies were probably lost or destroy'd.

Morinus observes, in his Exercitations on the Heb. text and version of the LXX (*Exerc. 9, c. 1*) ---- *Natum videtur tantum dissidium textuum illorum (Heb. & Græc.) a seculo Christi*

* See vol. 1; pag. 50, 52, 54, 79, 93, 96 &c.

ad seculum Origenis. And indeed in this interval there was amazing destruction made of the Jewish people, at different times; particularly ---- when *Titus* destroy'd their temple and city, in the year 70 ---- when such multitudes were cut off, in the reign of *Trajan*, in the year 116 --- and, when *Adrian* (in the years 134, 135, 136) made that last great destruction of them, which drove multitudes into Spain and many other distant parts of the world. So that, instead of our being surpriz'd that any of the sacred Hebrew copies should have been lost or injur'd; the wonder may most justly be --- that any copies were at all preserv'd; and that those, which were preserv'd, should have come down in so good a state, in the general, as we really find them.

This concession is an act of justice, to which I am fully persuaded, that the present Heb. text is fairly entitled. For, tho' I think it a matter of duty, to point out carefully such places as seem to be now corrupted, either thro' accident or design; yet it must also be held a matter of duty, not to charge the Jews as having been *more careless* than they in fact were; or as having *corrupted wilfully* many passages, of which there is no evidence. And therefore, tho' Mr. Jackson seems to have collected

lected a variety of strong arguments, in proof that the corruption of the ancient chronology was made wilfully in the Heb. text ; * yet when he extends his charge, and (pag. 92, 93, 96) represents the Jews as having wilfully corrupted the Heb. text also in *the Prophecies concerning Christ*, he seems to speak without authority. The only reference, which he makes on this head, is (p. 93) to *Epiphanius* : but then *Epiphanius*, in the very words quoted, speaks, not of the Heb. text, but of *Aquila's version* ; and only blames that *translator*, for rendering some testimonies relating to Christ differently from the version of the LXX.

There is indeed one part, in a most celebrated prophecy, which seems to be very materially corrupted ; but then there is the evidence of the Greek version, that this change was before the time of Christ, and therefore was the effect of accident and not of design. The nature of the mistake is this --- that a transcriber, having some knowledge by memory

* 'Tis remarkable, that *Eusebius Emisenus*, who flourish'd about the year 340, mentions *Symmachus* (and not *Aquila* or *Theodotion*) as always putting 100 years less in the ancient genealogies, agreeably to the Hebrew. So that if the Heb. chronology was contracted ; it was probably done in the interval between *Theodotion* & *Symmachus*. The above assertion of *Eusebius* is given by *Mountsaurcon*, in his *Prælim. Dissert.* pag. 54.

of the sentence he is writing, inadvertently exchanges the place of two words in different parts of the sentence. I shall prepare the reader by a few similar instances. One instance may be seen in my Dissertation; where (in the words *O Death, where is thy sting?* *O Grave, where is thy victory?*) the words *sting* and *victory* were written, and printed, in the place of each other. An instance, more worthy of our observation, occurs in the Greek version of *Isai. 65, 1*: where the *Vatican* copy reads thus --- Εμφανης εγνηθην τοις εμε μη ΕΠΕΡΩΤΩΣΙΝ, ευρεθην τοις εμε μη ΖΗΤΟΥΣΙΝ. But the *Alexandrian* copy reads --- Εμφανης εγενομην τοις εμε μη ΖΗΤΟΥΣΙΝ, ευρεθην τοις εμε μη ΕΠΕΡΩΤΩΣΙΝ. The *Vatican* copy is here agreeable to the Hebrew; and the quotation, made by *St. Paul* (*Rom. 10, 20*) is also agreeable to the Hebrew: excepting, that there is a farther transposition at present in the Apostolical quotation, the first half having exchange'd its place with the second. Thus also, in *Psal. 32, 5*; where the *Vat. copy* reads (agreeably to the Hebrew) ΤΗΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΝ ΜΕ ΕΓΝΩΣΑ, και την ΑΝΟΜΙΑΝ ΜΕ ΕΚ ΕΚΑΛΥΨΑ: the *Alexand. copy* reads, ΤΗΝ ΑΝΟΜΙΑΝ ΜΕ ----- και την ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΝ ΜΕ. The last instance which I shall mention, by way of introduction, is *Philip. 1*;

3, 4: ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩ ΤΩ ΘΕΩ ΜΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΠΑΣΗ ΤΗ ΜΝΕΙΑ
 υμων --- υμων μετα χαρας την ΔΕΗΣΙΝ παμπανος
 &c. I apprehend, that few of the Learned
 will doubt, whether *μνηα* and *δεσιν* should not
 be *δεσιν* and *μνηαν*; after perusing the note up-
 on this passage, which (amongst many other
 extremely valuable criticisms) is to be found
 in the 27th page of a very little, but very cu-
 rious Pamphlet, entitled *Epistolæ duæ ad cel.*
F—V—Professorem Amstelodamensem scriptæ;
de clar. Bentleio, & corruptis Novi Testamenti
locis: Lond. 4to. 1721.

Since therefore it appears from these
 instances, that a word has sometimes chang'd
 its place with another word in the same verse;
 I shall now mention one prophecy, where
 there seems to be the same kind of exchange
 of two words for one another. The prophecy,
 here meant, is no other than that contain'd in
 the 53d chapter of *Isaiab*; which so particu-
 larly describes the nature of our redemption
 from sin by the sufferings and death of the
 Messiah. In this chapter, at ver. 9. we read,
 ויתן את רשעים קברו ואת עשיר במותו
And he made his grave with the wicked, and
with the rich in his death. All the strange
 perplexity of commentators, in labouring to
 make sense of the words at present, and the

remarkable want of success in their variety of attempts towards it, afford the justest grounds to suspect, that there is some mistake in the present Hebrew. And I humbly apprehend, the whole difficulty is owing to this --- that the words *קברו* and *במתיו* (for *במותו*) have chang'd places. I must next observe, that the first verb in this verse should probably be render'd *passively*, in analogy to the verbs preceding; for, after the words, *he was oppressed, he was afflicted, he was brought, he was taken, he was cut off* --- should not *ויתן* be render'd *and he was put or placed*? It certainly may be so render'd; and I only desire leave to translate here, as the very same word (consisting of exactly the same letters) is now translated properly in 2 Sam. 18, 9 --- *and Absalom's head caught hold of the oak* (*ויתן LXX καὶ ἐκρεμάσθη*) AND HE WAS TAKEN UP *between the heaven and the earth*. I presume, that every Christian reader will be agreeably surpriz'd now, at seeing the words (with this exchange) express'd in their regular translation

ויתן את רשעים במותו ואת עשיר קברו
And he was taken up [ἐκρεμάσθη suspensus fuit]
with wicked men in his death; and with a
rich man was his sepulchre. Since the preceding parts of the prophecy speak, so indisputably,

bly, of the sufferings and death of the Messiah; these words seem evidently meant, as descriptive of the Messiah's being *put to death*, in company with WICKED MEN, and *making his grave or sepulchre* (not with rich men, but) with one RICH MAN. *

Should it be objected; that, if we allow this correction to be right, we must allow, that *the Heb. text may be corrected upon conjecture*: I would ask --- Have not other ancient authors been corrected upon conjecture also? And have not the learned thought many such corrections to be very satisfactory? But then, the word *conjecture* must not be left unguarded; because conjectural emendations are only *then* satisfactory, when they are well supported by the context, or some other undoubted authority. This is the case of several excellent emendations upon conjecture, made by Grabe and Bos in their editions of the Gr. version of the old Testament; and also in the Gr. text of the new Testament, by the author

* No Christian can possibly doubt of this chapter being predictive of the Messiah; when he considers *Acts* 8, 35. For, after finding, that the Eunuch of Ethiopia had been reading this very chapter (and had ask'd Philip, *Of whom speaketh the prophet this?*) we are told in this verse — *Then Philip began at the same scripture, and preached unto him* JESUS.

of the two Epistles mention'd pag. 371.* And as to the Heb. context of the words before mention'd; I readily submit it to men of learning ---- Whether, at the close of so circumstantial a prophecy concerning the Messiah, the mention of his *death* and *burial*, in the same verse with the mention of *wicked men* and *one rich man*, do not almost compel the reader to refer to *the two thieves*, as THE WICKED MEN, with whom he ignominiously died; and to refer to *the rich Joseph of Arimathea*, as THE RICH MAN, in whose sepulchre he was honourably *buried*.

As my endeavour in this history of the Heb. Text is to state the chief circumstances, upon which a critical examination of that Text should be founded; I could not omit so material an article as *the necessity of correcting, in some few places, upon the evidence of the CONTEXT only*. It may not be improper to sup-

* *Multi homines, iique literati, nimium sacris libris timentes, inquiunt; Incerta omnia ii faciunt, qui adeo suis conjecturis indulgent. At vero nos, si veritas ipsa spectanda est, incerta non facimus, sed invenimus: aliud certo volumus, nempe ex tenebris lucem proferre; & efficere, ut puriora & castigatiora prodeant Apostolorum scripta. Si quis dicat, quod nulla sacris literis vitia inserderint; pii magis est sententia, quam sane de his rebus judicantis. — Est igitur, est CONJECTURIS NON TEMERARIIS suus adhuc locus. Epist. duæ; pag. 30, 31.*

port this one instance by a second; and I hope, that the nature of the two instances will be a sufficient apology for the length of this digression.

In *Josh. 24, 19*; we read --- *And Joshua said unto the people, Ye cannot serve the Lord &c*: this is the proper translation of the present Hebrew. But can any thing be more astonishing --- than first to find Joshua exhorting, entreating, pressing the people, by every motive of gratitude and of interest, to *serve the Lord* and him only --- and then, after the people had promis'd obedience, to find Joshua telling them, *Ye cannot serve the Lord!* What! Could he possibly dissuade them, could he try to discourage them from the very thing, which he was labouring with all possibly energy of soul, to induce them to vow most religiously? This surely may be pronounc'd impossible. Behold, *how great a fire a little spark kindleth!* See, what absurdity becomes chargeable upon the venerable speaker in the text; what perplexity, what contradiction arises, and spreads its unkindly influence in this part of Scripture, only from the improper insertion of one small letter --- and of *that particular letter*, which is *put in, and left out, in a thousand other words, at the transcriber's pleasure!* I speak

speak thus positively, because I make not the least doubt of the learned reader's agreeing, that the present word תוכלו *poteritis* was originally תכלו *cessabitis*: and I may venture to recommend this criticism as worthy of real honour, because it is not my own, but the remark of the late Mr. Hallet, in his *Notes on Texts of Scripture*; vol. 3, p. 2. It may be necessary to observe, that (כלה signifying *cessavit*) the words of the text לא תכלו signify *non cessabitis*, or *ne cessetis* --- YE SHALL NOT CEASE, OR CEASE NOT *to serve the Lord*: and then, the reason is most forcible and conclusive --- *Cease not to serve the Lord*; (continue, persevere in his service:) FOR he is an holy GOD; he is a jealous GOD; he will not forgive (לפשעכם) your REBELLION nor your sins: if ye FORSAKE the Lord, and serve strange gods; then he will turn and consume you. The word פשע properly signifies *defection* or *rebellion*; it is translated *rebellion*, in Job 34, 27. And as for כלה; *to make an end*, or *cease to do a thing*, are its known significations: as in Gen. 18, 33; Jud. 3, 18: &c.

Let us now proceed, with our history, from Symmachus to Origen; who compos'd his famous work of the *Hexapla*, in the year

231.* That the Heb. MSS varied in the time of Origen may be inferr'd from the quotation made in page 154. For as Origen speaks there of *the more accurate* MSS; other MSS must have been *less accurate*. Some therefore must have been wrote with more care than others, or from better copies; or else, they must have been more accurately corrected: and certainly all real correction implies real corruption. If the reader pleases, he shall hear a confession from the Jews themselves --- that their Heb. copies had varied, and consequently were corrupted, long before the time of Origen himself. For Origen, commenting on *Psa.* 3, 8, says, that *the Heb. word* (לח) *cannot signify* ματαιως, *as the LXX had render'd it; and that therefore it was probable, AS SOME OF THE JEWS SAY, that their ancient copies read differently:* εως εν, ΩΣ ΤΙΝΕΣ ΕΒΡΑΙΩΝ ΛΕΓΟΥΣΙ, τα αρχαια αντιγραφα ετερος εχηνεναι. This is a confession, which it cannot be suppos'd the Jews would have made to a Christian; had not the Heb. MSS in *their own time* varied likewise. The old Greek word ματαιως shews that the word in the old Heb. copy was לחים; and the word ματαιως as it was render'd

* Montfauc. pralim. Dissert. pag. 13.

by the *οι λοιποι* (Aq. Theod. & Sym.) shews that they read *יהל*, as it is at present. *

The numerous differences, that obtain'd (at the beginning of the 3d century) between the Heb. and Gr. copies were doubtless owing to many corruptions on both sides; which therefore were objected by *the Christians* against *the Heb. text*, and by *the Jews* against *the Gr. version*. 'Tis no wonder, that Origen is sparing of his censures upon the Heb. text; because he was greatly oblig'd to the Jews for their assistance. Montfaucon tells us (*prælim. diff. p. 21*) *Origenes Judæos frequenter adibat, ut de Scripturæ LITTERA edoceretur*. But then, if Origen did thus frequently refer to the Jews, to learn WHAT WAS THE TRUE LETTER of Scripture; he might be much directed by them, as to the *true reading* as well as the *true sense*: and if so, *we ought to trust with caution to Origen's decisions about the Heb. text*, which were thus regulated by Jewish influence.

With regard to the Gr. version, Origen was much better qualified to judge for himself:

* Origen allow'd, in other places, that the renderings of the LXX might be owing to their reading differently in the Hebrew. Thus, on Ezek. 7, 27; — *η μη ευρησθαι τοτε εν τω εδραιω τη λιξιν*. See the scholion, in the Vatican edition of the LXX.

and here, he is very explicit as to the corruptions; particularly in *the proper names and the numbers*. As to names, he says --- *Circa Nomina errores multis in locis cernere licet; ut accurate perspeximus, ab Hebræis edocti, cum ipsorum exemplaribus nostra comparantes* --- *In primis ea Scripturarum loca suspecta habere debemus, ubi pariter complurium nominum est enumeratio* --- *Nec vero parvipendenda sunt Nomina; cum res ex iis significantur, locorum interpretationi utiles.* * And as to the corruptions of the Greek MSS, in general, Origen complains thus --- *Nunc autem, sive propter scriptorum quorundam indiligentiam, sive propter nefariam aliquorum Scripturas emendantium audaciam, magna exemplarium existit differentia. Profecto discrepantiæ, quæ in Veteris T. exemplaribus occurrit, Deo annuente, remedium adhibere potuimus.*

The remedy, which Origen here speaks of, is that work of immortal fame, *The Hexapla*; concerning which I shall now make some observations. As to the nature of this work; it consisted of 6 parallel columns, in a very large page: the 1st containing the Heb. text,

* Hody, *de Heb. textu & Gr. versione*; p. 295. And, as to the variation of the numbers, mention'd by Origen; see pag. 613.

in Hebrew; the 2d the Heb. text, in Greek characters; the 3d and 4th the versions of Aquila & Symmachus; the 5th the version of the LXX; and the 6th that of Theodotion. His *Ostapla* consisted of the same; with the addition of 2 other Gr. versions, call'd the *fifth* and *sixth* (and sometimes also of another call'd the *seventh*) from which last versions Origen inserted only particular parts, tho' Montfaucon thinks these versions were in themselves complete.* Whereas the *Tetrapla* contain'd (without the Hebrew) the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, LXX, and Theodotion. In this Hexapla, we cannot doubt but the Heb. text was inserted from such a copy, as THE JEWS (to whom he so often referr'd for the letter of Scripture) recommended, as *the most accurate and best corrected*. Much will depend on the nature of this copy; because it was now made the judge of all differences between the versions. Certainly, if this Heb. copy, thus plac'd in the seat of judgment, was itself much corrupted, and had receiv'd many alterations from

* *Prælim. Dissert. p. 18.* In Walton, *Prolegom.* 9, 20, is the following account of the 5th and 6th Gr. versions — *inventas legimus circa idem tempus, quo Symmachus suam confecit: quas, quia auctores incerti essent, quintam & sextam appellarunt. Illam reperit Origines in doliis (an. 217) Hierichunte; hanc postea, Nicopoli, ad Actium promontorium.*

chance or design; the Greek version of the LXX, which was made from Heb. MSS, some part of it above 500 years, and the rest near 400 years before, must have appear'd before an improper tribunal. At least, it must have receiv'd a most unrighteous sentence; if it had been condemn'd as *corrupted*, merely from not agreeing with the novel Hebrew copy there confronted with it.

That Origen made his Heb. text *the standard*, is certain. But then, as he allow'd (with the Jews) that corruptions might have happen'd; and that the old Heb. copies might, and did, read differently; he must have allow'd, that the old Gr. version might be right in places, where it differ'd from his Heb. copy. He therefore held it a point of religion, not to alter the version of the LXX; but, to mark in it such sentences or words, as were not in his Heb. text, nor the later Gr. versions; * and to add such sentences or words, as were in his Heb. text and the later versions, but not in that of the LXX. The chief reason for these

* *Origenes sæpe testatur, se ista, quæ in Hebræo non extabant, obelo notasse; non vero ausum esse, ea penitus tollere: ne scilicet, cum LXX interpretum vel sequiorum librariorum additamentis, expungeret forte aliqua genuina verba vel commata, quæ in illorum quidem exemplari Hebraico extiterant, licet in iis, quibus ipse utebatur, non occurrerent.* Grabe; *De vitiis LXX*, pag. 55.

proceedings of Origen was this. The Christians, in their disputes with the Jews, brought their proofs from the old Gr. version; the authority of which the Jews would frequently deny, asserting that such passages were not at all in the Hebrew, or were badly translated, or were themselves corrupted. * To obviate these inconveniences, and that the Christians might know every thing *which the Jews then held to be genuine and authentic*; he gives the Heb. text of the Jews, and also those late Gr. versions, which were allow'd also by the Jews; and from *these* he fills up the old Gr. version, so as to make *that* contain every thing. But then, that the old Gr. version might be still distinguish'd; he places an *asterisc*, or star, at the beginning (with some mark at the end) of every such addition; and prefix'd an *obelus*, or dagger, to such words as were not then in the Hebrew. The latter was easily done, only by comparing this version with the Hebrew in

* Origen, in his epistle to Africanus, says — that he had put *αριστως κειμένοις μιν εν τῷ Εβραϊκῷ, παρ' ημιν δε μη ευρισκομένοις. Ινα ὡς Ιεδαίως ἀγλιζόμενοι ὡς φερόμεν αὐτοῖς ταῦ ὡς κείμενα εν τοῖς αντιγραφοῖς αὐτῶν· καὶ ἵνα συγχρησώμεθα τοῖς φερόμενοις παρ' ἐκείνοις, εἰ καὶ εν ημετέροις ἔκρινται βιβλίοις. Τοιαύτης γὰρ ὥσης ἡμῶν τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς εν ταῖς ζήτησι περὶ σκοπῆς, ἔκαστ' ὡς ἐφρονήσουσιν, οὐδ' (ὡς ἐφ' αὐτοῖς) θαλασσοντὴ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων πιστευόντας, ὡς τ' ἀληθῆ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀναγερθεῖν ἀγνοήσας.* Grabe, *De vitiiis LXX*; p. 60.

the first column; and the former was done (i.e. the additions were made) by insertions from the other Gr. versions, and chiefly from that of *Theodotion*. *

It has been asserted, that Origen himself must have consider'd all these alterations as so many *corrections* of the old Gr. version; that the *star* was to denote the *illumination* arising from such genuine words, as were added; and the *dagger* the *condemnation* of such spurious words, as were thus jugulated. But, that Origen did not mean any absolute election or reprobation, but only to make public all the differences, and leave others to judge of their merit or demerit, is certain from his own words --- *Hæc multo labore collegimus, NE NOS LATERET DISCRIMEN JUDAICORUM NOTRORUMQUE EXEMPLARIUM. --- Nonnulla, in Hebræo non extantia, obelo confiximus, cum ea penitus rejicere non fuerimus ausi; aliqua vero cum asteriscis addidimus, ut perspicuum sit ea nos e reliquis editionibus, Hebræo consonantibus, addidisse: [καὶ ὁ μὲν βουλομῆτος πρῶται αὐτὰ ὡς δὲ προσκοπτὲι το τοιστον, ὁ βελεται περὶ τῆς Διὰδοχῆς αὐτων, ἡ μὴ, ποιησῇ] Et ut ea missa faciat, cui libitum erit; quem autem offendit illud, de illis*

* Bene ostendit Hodijs, licet plurima, non omnia supplementa a Theodotione accepisse Origenem. Grabe, *De vitiis LXX*, p. 61.

admit-

admittendis necne, pro arbitrio statuat. Hody; pag. 294, 295.

Besides the marks call'd *asteriscus* & *obelus*, Origen inserted two others, which are call'd *lemniscus* & *hypolemniscus*: the uses of the two last are not certain; Montfaucon thinks, that the *lemniscus* denoted a better and more accurate reading. He says also; that, if the old Gr. version did not any where seem accurately to express the true Hebrew, Origen obeliz'd the former reading, and added from some other version the better reading with the distinction of an asterisk: and that (*Psa.* 29, 1) *everyxale* τῷ κυρίῳ υἱοῦ χειρῶν was thus added, after *everyxate* τῷ κυρίῳ υἱοῖ θεοῦ: both which readings continue to this day.

As to the many passages interpolated by Origen, i. e. inserted from the late Gr. versions into that of the LXX, and mark'd with an asterisc; these insertions may have been attended with some good consequences, and certainly have been attended with some very bad ones. The good consequences were either *present* or *remote*; either respecting the advantages deriv'd to the Christian Fathers, or to ourselves. The Fathers were hereby enabled to judge of what the Jews allow'd to be *genuine Scripture*; and to dispute with them accordingly.

cordingly. And as to ourselves; since it is possible, that a few of the passages, thus added to the Greek, may have been since accidentally omitted in the Hebrew copies; Origen's insertion may have been one means of their preservation. There might also be omissions of a word, or words, in some few places, in the old Gr. version, when first made; or such omissions might happen afterwards in transcribing, before the days of Origen; and all such words, as were *thus* inserted by Origen, would be matter of great advantage. * Had the original Hexapla descended to us perfect, or had we receiv'd perfect copies of it, with the several marks distinguishing what was, and what was not, in the version of the LXX, antecedently to Origen; it would have been an inestimable treasure. It would have assisted us in correcting most of the corruptions, which have since happen'd both in the Heb. text and Gr. version; and we might then have said, with Jerom --- *Hæc immortale Origenis ingenium suo nobis labore donavit, ut*

* Thus Grabe observes, that the first 4 verses in the 17th ch. of Jeremiah, were omitted in the version of the LXX (on account of the *ομολογιστον*) by some careless transcriber, long before the time of Origen; which verses, being in the Heb. text, and the other Gr. versions, were reinstated by Origen. *De vitiiis LXX*, pag. 8.

*non magnopere pertimescamus supercilium Judæorum.*¹ On the contrary: as many of the interpolated passages continue in the Gr. version to this day, where the asterisks have been long lost; we cannot now be certain, as to *all* the interpolations: so that *some* may now pass for original readings, and consequently usurp an authority, to which they have no just pretensions.

The following are the words of Grabe --- *Obelos aliquando omissos, ut honori των LXX. consuleretur* --- *Negligentiores in Asteriscis apponendis fuisse librarios, non solum ex MSS quibusdam libris, quibus modo utimur, clare patet; dum in iis omnia, sive plura, quæ ab Origene addita esse (aliorum librorum aut patrum auctoritate) constat, sine asteriscis leguntur; sed & Hieronymus jam olim hac de re sic conquestus est: "Hinc apud vos, & apud plerosque, error exoritur; quod scriptorum negligentia virgulis & asteriscis subtractis, distinctio universa confunditur."*² Some of the asterisks being thus early omitted, and yet the interpolated passages being still continued; we have reason to lament, that they were inserted, in compliment to the late Heb. copies: and 'tis pity,

¹ Montfaucon. *prælim. dissert.* p. 98.

² *De vitiis LXX Interp.* p. 108; & *Prolegom.* 2, 9.

that Origen should have been so warmly (what he himself in his letter to Africanus, calls Aquila) *ἀλλευων τη Εβραϊκη λεξει*. And since the asterisks began to be thus omitted, in the days of St. Jerom; 'tis no wonder, we find that zealous Father (*Præf. in Paralip.*) exclaiming thus ---- *Origenes* (quod majoris audaciæ est) *in editione LXX, Theodotionis editionem miscuit* --- *Germana illa antiquaque translatio corrupta est atque violata*. And also; in the words just before quoted --- *error exoritur; quod, asteriscis subtractis, distinctio confunditur*. Tom. 2, col. 635.

The loss of these asterisks being so real a misfortune; Montfaucon, Grabe, and others amongst the learned, who have labour'd in recovering parts of the Hexapla, together with the marks originally annex'd, have done eminent service to the world. And here I cannot but express my earnest wish, as men of learning and influence far superior to mine have done before, that the world may be soon oblig'd with the publication of that most valuable Syriac MS, which is now in the hands of the very learned JABLONSKY. This MS belong'd formerly to the celebrated Masius, who (an. 1574) publish'd from it the book of *Joshua*; and propos'd publishing the remainder,

A a a containing

containing the books of *Judges, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Esther, Judith, Tobit*, and also a great part of *Deuteronomy*. Mafius says, that this Syriac version was made *ante nongentos (& quinquaginta) annos*, which is now 1135 years ago; and that it is a literal version, made from a Greek copy transcrib'd by Eusebius from Origen's Hexapla, with all *the genuine asterics.*¹ Dr. Grabe speaks of this MS thus --- *paucis significo dolorem, quo afficior, eo quod MS codicem Syriacum Mafii nusquam terrarum reperire potuerim. --- Quapropter de illo omnes ubique Antiquarios maximopere rogatos velim, ut si quam pretiosissimi istius thesauri notitiam habeant, eam impertiri haud dedignentur.*² Dr. Lee, the learned editor of Grabe's 2d vol. of the Septuagint (*proleg. 3, 2*) discovers, that this MS is in the hands of *Jablonsky*; and says --- *si quid Grabii editioni librorum historicorum deesse videatur, id omne ex Codicis istius impressione abunde supplendum esse sperandum est. Benedicat autem tam Operi quam Editori Deus O. M. nequid desideratam ejus editionem vel impediatur amplius, vel retardet.* Lastly; Breitinger, in his preface to the 3d volume, calls upon and entreats the possessor

¹ Mafius, in his Dedication; p. 6.

² *Prolegom.* cap. 3, sec. 5.

of this MS --- *ut pretiosissimi sui Codicis, in quo SOLO LIBRO historicorum post octateuchum reliquorum editio Origeniana conservata extat, editionem jam per 25 annos desideratam maturare velit: quo facto de insigni hujus interpretationis parte præclare mereri & eruditorum desideriis satisfacere posset.*

There is also a very valuable Gr. MS, containing the asterisks of the Hexapla; which has not yet been publish'd, tho' long expected and ardently wish'd for by the learned. 'Tis call'd the *Codex Chigianus* or *Chisianus*, from the name of the library, in which it is deposited at Rome: and it contains *Jerem. Dan. Ezek. and Isaiab.* Grabe says, that neither of his learned friends, *Wilkins* (as I suppose it should be instead of *Wilkius*) or *St. Amand*, when at Rome, could possibly obtain a sight of it. *De vitiis LXX*, p. 117. But amongst the many curious MSS, which have been, and are to be, communicated to the world in the excellent work of the learned *Blanchini* (of which the 1st and 4th parts have been publish'd for some years) we read with pleasure, in the 255th page of the first volume --- *Codices proferam in altero tomo, qui Origenianorum characterum præstantia nulli concedunt.* --- *Insignis Codex Chisianus (quem princeps Au-*

gustus Chisius mecum perhumaniter communicavit) dux erit; qui Prophetas majores complectitur, secundum Septuaginta-Viralem Origenis editionem. And if this Gr. version of *Daniel* be in fact the OLD version, call'd the LXX, as the title prefix'd here styles it (*Δανιηλ κατὰ τὴν ο.*) it will be of extraordinary value: as no other copy of it is known in the world; *that*, which is now in use, being universally allow'd to be the version of *Theodotion*.

If it were now possible to recover a compleat edition of the Hexapla, with the several marks therein dispos'd properly; it would throw great light upon the history of the Heb. text, and point out the age of many corruptions. The *two whole verses* (*Jos. 21; 36, 37*) which are left out in so many copies, were not in the Heb. text of the Hexapla; and therefore were *obeliz'd* in the version of the LXX: as is certain from the Syriac MS of *Mafius* beforemention'd, and from other authorities. And as these verses are in the old Greek and Syriac versions, and the Chald. paraphrase (see *Mafius*, p. 311) and yet were not in the Hexaplar Hebrew; they were probably omitted between the years 100 and 200. To this instance of a large *omission* in the Hebrew, obeliz'd in the Greek, I shall add one
in-

instance of a strange *interpolation* in the Hebrew, which was inserted in the Greek with an asterisc. It was prov'd in my Dissertation (pag. 464) that in *Psal.* 18, 14, the words ברד ונחלי אש (*bailstones and coals of fire*) were improperly added to this verse, being taken in from the verse preceding. These words were in the Hexaplar Hebrew, and were consequently inserted with an asterisc in the version of the LXX. For they were not originally in the *old* version, nor are they now in either the Alexand. or Vatic. copies of that version. That these words were actually inserted in the Hexapla, is certain from Jerom; who writes thus to Sunia and Fretela (tom. 2, col. 631) --- *Quæritis, cur Græcus istum versiculum secundo non habeat. Sciendum, quia de Hebraico, & de Theodotionis editione, in LXX interpretibus sub asterisco additum fit.* 'Tis probable, that Jerom has here put Theodotion for Symmachus. For, as he mentions only *one* of the 3 new Greek translators; 'tis probable, that one only had these words. And if only one, that one was probably the latest; since the third translator was very likely to have in his copy what was in the copy of the second. If then the latest translator only had the words; that latest was Symma-

Symmachus: and indeed the words are mark'd with Σ, and not with Θ, in Montfaucon's Hexapla.

Such then was the nature of Origen's *Hexapla*: which probably perish'd with the library at Cæsarea (in Palestine) when that city was taken, after a siege of 7 years, by the Arabians, in the year 653. * Montfaucon thinks (*pag. 73*) that the Hexapla must have made 50 very large volumes; and if so, 'tis no wonder that so vast a work (however useful) should perish, and be lost to the world, from the improbability of its being ever transcrib'd: since that would have been a work (as Jerom styles it, in his preface to Ezra) *magnorum sumptuum & infinitæ difficultatis*.

But, tho' the whole Hexapla was not likely to be, and I suppose never was, transcrib'd compleatly; yet as the chief merit of it was confin'd within *one* column out of the six (in that which express'd the version of the LXX, together with the passages mark'd and added) *that one* column might be, and doubtless was,

* See *Hofman's Lexicon*. Montfaucon (*Præl. Diff.* p. 76) supposes Cæsarea to have been destroy'd by the Persians under Chosroes: but THAT was Cæsarea (not in Palestine, but) in *Cappadocia*; taken by Chosroes, in the year 603. See *Theopbanis Chronograph.* p. 199; edit. Ven.

transcrib'd frequently. 'Tis very probable also, that the opinions of the learned differ'd, at that time, about the propriety of inserting *every thing* into the old Gr. version; and that they might differ also as to many of the particulars, which seem'd to have a claim (more or less) to be so inserted. 'Tis possible also, that some might think, no interpolations should have been made at all; but that the old Gr. version ought still to have been receiv'd with reverence, or only corrected where it was evidently corrupted.

Such a diversity of sentiments, as is here suppos'd, prevail'd in fact amongst the Christians, upon this occasion. For we find, before the year 300, no less than THREE new editions of the old Gr. version --- all agreeing in this, that they were taken from the Hexapla --- yet each differing so much from the other two, as to bear the name of a different author or compiler, and to have a large part of the world for its peculiar and proper province. *Lucian* form'd the copy, which was receiv'd from Constantinople to Antioch; *Hesychius* form'd that, receiv'd in Alexandria and Egypt; and the copy, receiv'd in the intermediate country of Palestine, was form'd by *Pamphilus and Eusebius*. This triple division
is

is founded upon the authority of St. Jerom; who also says, *Omnes Christi ecclesiæ (Græcorum, Latinorum, Syrorum & Ægyptiorum) hanc sub asteriscis & obelis editionem legunt.* *

This must not however be understood, as if St. Jerom meant, that *all* copies thenceforth contain'd the interpolated passages; since he speaks of the several churches, and not of private persons. And in his letter to St. Austin (tom. 4, col. 626) he allows, there were some few copies without them --- *vix unus aut alter invenietur liber, qui ista non habeat.* Montfaucon also allows --- *illa supplementa, quæ cum asteriscis addita fuerunt, in aliquot exemplaria inuenta sunt, in alia non item.* Prælim. Dissert. p. 44. But the matter seems to be stated most accurately by Hody; who says (pag. 619) --- *nullum nunc reperitur exemplar, in quod non irrepserint ALIQUA ex editione Origeniana.* If therefore every copy of the LXX, which is now extant, contains *some* of the Hexaplar additions; and if every such addition is really a corruption, wherever the asterisks are not preserv'd; and if the asterisks were dropp'd, in some places in the days of Jerom; and, at this time, are lost in many other places: we

* *Præf. Paralip. & Præf. ad explicat. Daniel.*

may then say of all the written and printed books, which contain this ancient version ---

— *Vitiis nemo sine nascitur; optimus ille est,
Qui minimis urgetur.*

The next point therefore must be, to consider --- Which of the 3 famous editions (publish'd by Lucian, Pamphilus and Hesychius) is *least interpolated*; or, having the fewest insertions from the Hexapla, *comes the nearest to the old (Κοινη, or) version of the LXX.* There is an extraordinary passage, in the epistle of Jerom to Sunia and Fretela; which says --- *that the Κοινη or common edition was the same with that of the LXX, and was generally call'd the edition of LUCIAN; but that this was a different edition from that in the Hexapla. And the difference was, that the Κοινη or common edition was corrupted; but the Hexapla contain'd the version of the LXX pure and without blemish.** This latter clause, if understood strict-

* Sciatis aliam esse editionem, quam Origines, & Eusebius (Κοινη) communem appellant atque vulgatam, & a PLERISQUE nunc Λυσιανος dicitur; aliam Sept. interpretum, quæ in Hexaplis reperitur, & a nobis Latine versa est. — Κοινη ista, hoc est communis editio, ipsa est quæ & Septuaginta. Sed hoc interest inter utramque; quod Κοινη pro locis & temporibus & pro voluntate scriptorum, vetus corrupta editio est. Hexaplaris autem ipsa est quæ in eruditorum libris incorrupta & immaculata Septuaginta interpre-

ly, contradicts that which was quoted from Jerom in pag. 387; and he could not possibly suppose this true, unless he would grant *the Heb. text* in the Hexapla to be *without blemish* likewise: which would be a very strange concession. But this perfection of the version of the LXX, as standing in the Hexapla, is what he denies in the clearest terms elsewhere; as the nature of the thing requires. * One great use however may be made of this passage; which, tho' it seems to make *Lucian's* edition not to be the same with the Hexaplar copy (in contradiction to his former *triple division* of the copies taken from thence) clearly represents *Lucian's edition* as *nearly the same with the common version of the LXX*.

Euthymius also says, that the copy of *Lucian cum LXX interpretum editione consentit;*

tum translatio reservatur. Quicquid ergo ab hac discrepat, nulli dubium est, quin ita & ab Hebræorum auctoritate discordet. Tom. 2, col. 627.

* Sicuti nullum humanum opus perfectum; ita & elaborata ab Adamantio LXX interpretum editio non solum aliquos retinuit novos, sed & (præter necessaria defectuum supplementa) quasdam insuper interpolationes ex aliis versionibus male contraxit. Remanere in ea vitia, seu corruptiones quarundam vocum, quæ Origenis diligentiam artemque criticam effugerunt. — Corrupta quædam verba, in his ipsis Origenianis codicibus reperta, ex aliorum patrum scriptis, vel per conjecturas, correctâ recensentur. Grabe, *De vitis LXX*, p. 95, 96.

¶ *quæ ab aliis depravata fuerant reprobavit.* And the depravations here meant were probably the same, which the *Acts of Lucian* call *the many spurious passages, which had been receiv'd into the sacred books* --- alluding no doubt to the interpolations of Origen. *Hody*, p. 626, 627. It appears therefore, that the edition of Lucian came the nearest to the venerable copy of the LXX: and indeed this is now so generally allow'd, that, in order to ascertain the excellence of any famous MS of this version, one great point is to prove, that it agrees nearly with *the edition of Lucian*.

As a critical acquaintance with *the present Greek version* is absolutely necessary, in order to the forming a proper judgment of *the Heb. text*; I have been the more particular in the preceding observations. And yet, as there is one essential point, which has not been sufficiently explain'd, in proportion to its extensive consequence; I shall now consider it more fully --- and the point I mean is *The several INTERPOLATIONS in the present Greek version*. And, as these interpolations may be --- the different readings of different Greek versions --- or, glosses and remarks inserted into the text either from the margin or the fancy of transcribers; I shall offer some remarks upon

both. These different kinds of interpolation are thus mention'd by the learned Zuinglius --- *Non est omittendum, Græcam interpretationem plurima incommoda esse passam: puta imposturas & importationes, nunc SCIOLO- RUM, qui ex Aquilæ, Symmachi, Theodotionis, aut quintæ traductionis, aliquid ingerere sunt ausi (quoties enim deprehendimus duplices translationes?) nunc vero IMPRUDENTIUM, qui ut in doctum docti alicujus (qui ad marginem vel sensum suum vel similem locum adscripserat) codicem inciderunt, putarunt ex substantia Scripturæ sacræ esse; ac mox describendo, retulerunt in suum exemplar. Præfat. in apolog. complan. Isaïæ, fol. 207. Thus also Grabe tells us --- *Glossmata partim, partim diversa sacrorum dictorum interpretamenta, e margine in textum ab imperitis librariis subinde translata, reperire est. De vitiis LXX, p. 27.**

As to the interpolations, which are different readings of different versions; 'tis easy to conceive, that many of those, who copied the version of the LXX, after the versions of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus were made (at least, after they were collected in the Hexapla) would now and then insert in the margin such readings in the other versions, as they thought worthy of observation. And from the
margin

margin, such notes were soon admitted into the text; the transcribers being ignorant enough to suppose them *omissions*, and therefore necessary parts of the genuine text. For, that the Greek transcribers were frequently selected, for their skill in *calligraphy*, and not in criticism, may well be presum'd: and we have one proof furnish'd by our famous Alexand. MS --- in which, not only the τ in ΜΩΤΣΗΣ (Num. 3, 49) is made larger than common, and put at the beginning of a new line, as if beginning a new paragraph; but in other places a space is left, and a new line begun with a large letter, in the middle of a sentence: *ex quo conjecturam capere licet, scribam non intellexisse sacrum quem exaravit textum.* Grabe's *prolegom.* 1, 6.

In pag. 127 of my Dissertation, I mention'd one interpolation of this kind, taken from 1 Chron. 11, 11; where ἀμαζ and ἐν καρπῷ ἐν are two versions of בַּפֶּעַם אֶחָד at one time. In pag. 128, another instance was referr'd to, in 2 Sam. 1, 13; where οὐ διεχόμενοι and οὐ διεχόμενοι are two versions of לֹא נִפְדָּדוּ. I shall mention but one instance more of an interpolation from different versions; and that is in 2 Sam. 5; 14, 15, 16. This passage enumerates the eleven sons of David, which were born

born in Jerusalem; and the following is uniformly their order in the Heb. text and all the versions --- *Shammuah*, 1; *Shobab*, 2; *Nathan*, 3; *Solomon*, 4; *Ibhar*, 5; *Elishua*, 6; *Nepheg*, 7; *Japhia*, 8; *Elishama*, 9; *Eliada*, 10; *Eliphalet*, 11. But these names, now in the *Vat.* copy of the Gr. version, amount to *twenty four*; the preceding *eleven* being all repeated, and reinserted from another version (which make the number 22) and *two* of the names are express'd *twice* even in this very repetition. * Σαμμουε, 1; Σωβαβ, 2; Ναθαν, 3; Σαλωμων, 4; Εβιαρ, 5; Ελισουε, 6; Ναφεκ, 7; Ιεφιε, 8; Ελισουμα, 9; Ελιδαε, 10; Ελιφαλαβ, 11. Σαμαε, 1; Ιεωσιβαθ, 2; Ναθαν, 3; Γαλαμααν, 4; Ιεβααρ, 5; Θησσα, 6; [Ελιφαλατ, a various reading for the 11th name, and transpos'd; Ναγεδ, a variation of the name following;] Ναφεκ, 7; Ιαναθαν, 8; Λεασαμυς, 9; Βααλιμαθ, 10; Ελιφααθ, 11. But this passage discovers an interpolation, not only in the Gr. version, but also in *the Heb. text*. For in the enumeration of these names, as we now find them in *1 Chron.* 3; 5, 6, 7; the 9th and 11th names (*Elishama* and *Eliphalet*) are interpolated after the 5th, and yet they are express'd also in

* *LXX interpretes hinc inde sunt corrupti, ac duæ vel tres identidem versiones ibi coaluerunt.* Grabe, *De vitis LXX*, p. 96.
their

their proper places. 'Tis farther remarkable; that, in this second enumeration, *Elishua* (the 6th name) is quite expell'd the Heb. text, on account of the intrusion of 2 names into its place? and that נפג *Nepheg* (the 7th name) is become 2 names; one of which (נגה) is also interpolated, being an evident corruption and various reading of נפג. These 2 parallel places are therefore now corrupted thus —

שמע 1 שמוע 2 שובב 3 נתן 4 שלמה *Samu.*

שמעא 1 שובב 2 שובב 3 נתן 4 שלמה *Cbro.*

יבחר 5 יבחר 6 אלישוע 7 נפג 8 יפיע *S.*

יבחר 5 יבחר אלישמע אליפלט נגה נפג 8 יפיע *C.*

אלישמע 9 אלידע 10 אליפלט 11 *S.*

אלישמע 9 אלידע 10 אליפלט 11 *C.*

As to all those interpolations in the Gr. version, which contain various readings extracted from *the later* Gr. versions; there is no difficulty in accounting for *their* first appearance in the margin, and their subsequent admission into the text. But, what are we to say, as to different rendrings before the time of Aquila? If any such were interpolated, so very early; will not the existence of these prove the existence of different Gr. versions (of the same parts of Scripture) before the version

version of Aquila? And if so, are not all those mistaken, who suppose Aquila's Gr. version to have been *the second*? These are questions of real consequence; and the answers should be made with caution. The learned Grabe has prov'd, that the same Heb. words were, in some places, differently render'd long before Aquila; and therefore it seems to follow --- either, that *those places were translated by different persons* --- or, that *the same translator sometimes render'd the same Heb. words (in the same verse) in two different ways*: of which alternative, I presume the former part is far more probable than the latter. That there are in the present copies of the Gr. version some double renderings of the Hebrew, which were not only not taken from Aquila, Theodotion, or Symmachus, but were more early; may appear from the following instances.

The 22d Psalm begins with those remarkable words, *My God! My God! why hast thou forsaken me?* The Gr. version reads, ο θεος μου, ο θεος μου, προχες μοι, ινα ε εγχαλειπεις με; The words προχες μοι (*look upon me*) are not part of our blessed Saviour's words, and are evidently a different translation of the second word אלהים; which signifies either *Deus meus*, or
ad

ad me. That this second version προχες μοι was not the version of Aquila, Theodotion, or Symmachus, is asserted by Montfaucon; and it is prov'd by Jerom, who had free access to the Hexapla itself --- *Non, ut a SEPTUAGINTA positum est; Deus, Deus meus, respice in me: & multa his similia.* *

As the opinion here adopted, of there being more than one Gr. version before Aquila, is taken from Dr. Grabe; I shall now give his own words: *De vitiis LXX, p. 29. Ut indubiam assertioni meæ, de duobus interpretamentis alicubi in unum etiam ante Origenis tempora conflatis, fidem faciam; alium locum, nulli exceptioni obnoxium, proferam. Est is Esaiæ cap. 9, 6; ubi genuina LXX versio est: και καλειται το ονομα αυτη μεγαλης βαλης αγγελος· αζω γαρ ειρηνην επι της αρχοντας. Eusebius hunc locum ampliorem allegat; insertis (inter αγγελος & αζω) sequentibus verbis: θαυμαστος, συμβαλος, θεος ισχυρος, εξουσιας, αρχων ειρηνης, πατηρ της μελλοντος αιωνος· quæ reapse exhibent aliam versionem hebræi פלא יען אל גבור אבי ער שר שלום a LXX interpretibus, istud paulo aliter legentibus, per priora verba Græce redditi.* This learned critic then proceeds to shew, that Eusebius himself quoted the preceding words, as what were then

* *Adversus Rufinum; tom. 4, par. 2. pag. 433.*

contain'd in *different copies of the LXX*; sub-joining to the two former rendrings the different versions of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus. He then shews, that *Clemens Alexandrinus* (an. 192) and *Irenæus* (an. 180) both quoted these 2 very different rendrings of this important passage. After which he adds --- *ex quibus patet, ambos utramque interpretationem in suis exemplaribus junctam habuisse.* --- *In alia quoque prophetia celebratissima aliud occurrit exemplum duarum interpretationum, jam ante Origenis ætatem in Græco codice junctarum, nempe Dan. 9, 27: de quo egerunt Usserius & Vossius.* I shall only add, that in *Isai. 9, 6*; the Vat. MS has only *one* translation, but the Alex. MS has *both*: and that *both* were quoted as early as they year 110 by *Ignatius* --- see the scholion, in the Vatican edition.

Having given a few instances of interpolations in the present version of the LXX, arising from the existence of different Gr. versions; I shall now mention *glosses*, or *explanatory remarks*, originally plac'd in the margin, opposite to such words and phrases in the text as appear'd obscure: and with these glosses we must mention *additions*, set also in the margin at first, whether with a view to illustrate or enlarge particular parts of history, or from
any

any other motive. That it was very anciently the custom of Christian writers, to insert explanatory glosses in the margin of their sacred MSS, is allow'd by the learned. And in *the Two Epistles*, mention'd in p. 371, there are given 15 instances of such marginal remarks; which (as the learned author seems clearly to prove) have been taken into the text of the *new* Testament, and now make part of it --- to the disadvantage of that sacred volume. Other instances have been mention'd by other writers; as the interpolation of *anti xaeit* after *xapiv* (*John* 1, 16) is noted by Dr. Wall. And as to the *old* Testament; one instance of an explanatory gloss has been judiciously pointed out by the learned Mr. Upton, in his late edition of *Spenser's Fairy Queen*: vol. 2, pag. 410. The instance is in *Gen.* 9, 20: *And Noah began to be an husbandman.* The words *איש האדמה* were here translated *ανδραπος γης*; but this expreffion admitting two senses, *γεωργος* was afterwards plac'd in the margin, as a gloss to fix the true sense in this place: the consequence of which is, that *γεωργος* has been taken into the text, and is now plac'd there most absurdly in the following manner --- *ανδραπος γεωργος γης.*

As to large interpolations, arising from ad-

ditions to the history by remarks made in the margin, which have crept from thence into the text; Grabe has mention'd one which is very remarkable, consisting of 30 words: *De vitis LXX*, p. 26. The words are now added, at the end of the 20th verse of *Gen.* ch. 46; and express the names of 5 persons descended from Manasseh and Ephraim. Grabe observes, that some one (long before the time of Philo) being willing to continue the genealogy of Jacob, noted here in the margin (from the books of *Numbers* and *Chronicles*) the 5 descendants from Joseph's 2 sons: which note was taken very early into the text. But, mark the bad consequences of this unskilful interpolation! The sum total (ver. 27) being too small, after this addition; the number 70 is alter'd to 75. And then, in consequence of the Gr. version reading 75; 'tis most probable that the true number 70, us'd by St. Stephen (*Act.* 7, 14) was very early alter'd by some Christian transcriber to 75 likewise. And by this means the reference, made by St. Stephen to the old Testament, is *become* contradictory to the Heb. text.

To the preceding remarks on the 3 principal Gr. copies taken from the Hexapla, and on their interpolations, it may be proper to add
here

here a few observations upon the two most celebrated MSS of the Gr. version, which are extant in the world: *the MS in the Vatican*, and *the Alexand. MS* preserv'd (now) in the British Museum. It is not my intention to enter into a minute examination of the merits of these MSS (for *very great merit* must be allow'd to each, after the most unfavourable positions that have been, or can be advanc'd) but to mention a few circumstances, particularly relative to their connexion with the state of the Heb. text.

The VATICAN MS was publish'd at Rome, by Card. Carafa, at the command of Sixtus Quintus, in 1587. It is said, in the preface, to have been written *ante millesimum ducentessimum annum*; which is before 387: but Blanchini supposes it a few years later; *Vindiciæ*, p. 34. The author last nam'd has oblig'd the world with two specimens of its character: the first is in pag. 30 of his *Vindiciæ*; the second, in his *Evangeliarium*, at pag. 492. A third specimen may be seen, connected with a particular description of this MS, sent by the prefect of the Vatican the learned Zacagni to Dr. Grabe, and preserv'd in the Bodleian library. As it is of consequence to be acquainted, in the most exact manner, with
all

all the circumstances relating to this venerable MS; and as this letter from Zacagni contains many curious particulars; it will be very acceptable to the Learned, and make a useful part of the present enquiry. The following therefore is an exact copy of the Letter, so far as it relates to this MS: excepting that the small *Iota* after $\tau\omega$, $\theta\epsilon\omega$, &c. is here omitted; and the ancient *Epsilon* and *Sigma* are here express'd by the modern.

Clarissimo Viro D. Joanni Ernesto Grabe S. T. D.
Laurentius Alex. Zacagnius S. P. D.

COMMODO accidit alterius epistolæ, quam ad te Maio præterito dederam, exemplar penes me remansisse. In ea autem, Vir clarissime, quæstis tuis de LXX. interpretum celeberrimo Vaticano scripto codice, ex quo veteris Testamenti græca editio Romana deprompta fuit, ita respondebam. I. Codicem hunc præstantissimum initio ac fine mutilum esse; deperditis, scilicet, præ nimia vetustate non paucis foliis: incipit enim a cap. 47 Geneseos, prope finem folii 37 editionis Romanæ col. 1, lit. B, lin. 8, in illis verbis ΠΟΛΙΝΕΙΣΓΗΝΡΑΜΕΣΣΗΝ. Desinit autem in cap. 9 epistolæ ad Hebræos, ver. 14; in illis verbis ΑΜΩΜΟΝ ΤΩΘΕΩ. Præterea mancus est idem codex a Psalmo 105, fol. 465, editionis pariter Romanæ col. 2, lit. Δ, lin. 7, in illis verbis ΑΥΤΟΥΣΕΝΤΩΡΗΜΩ; usque ad alia verba Psalmi 137 lit. E, pag. 477, ΤΑΤΑΠΕΙΝΑΕΦΟΡΑ. Folia, quæ periire, manu non admodum veteri suppleta sunt; non item Machabæorum libri, quia nempe incertum erat, an olim in eo codice extarent. Cætera omnia manu una eademque in quadratis foliis, & tribus in unaquaque pagina columnis descripta sunt, ac præterea eodem tempore, & ab eodem librario; ut ex atramenti & literarum similitudine

litudine evincitur: totus codex ea cautione emendatus fuit, ut non immutata priori scriptura, singulæ emendationes minoribus literis in superiori ut plurimum lineæ parte, & interdum etiam in margine cum longiores essent, collocarentur. II. Nulla ferme in toto codice vox aut syllaba præ vetustate ita olim exesa erat, ut prorsus legi non posset; tantummodo enim literarum color evanuerat: sed cum Vaticanæ Bibliothecæ Præfetti haud immerito timerent, ne intra non multos annos legi amplius posset, sedulo curarunt, ut a viro græcæ linguæ perito totus codex, superinducto singulis literis novo atramento, religiosissime restauraretur. An ante, vel post Sixti V. editionem hoc factum fuerit, nos latet. Illud certum est, summa diligentia rem totam curatam fuisse, ne minimo quidem veteris scripturæ apice mutato; nisi quod accentus, ac spiritus, quibus codex carebat, ubique ac sæpe quidem non recte additi fuerint, ut ex vocibus & integris lineis per veteris librarii errorem bis descriptis, quas restaurator semel refingere consuevit, dilucide apparet. III. Nullis literarum, syllabarum, aut vocum compendiis codex scriptus fuit, præterquam in vocibus ΘΕΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΙΣΡΑΗΛ, & in omnibus earundem casibus; quæ ita breviri solent ΘΣ ΚΣ ΧΣ ΠΝΑ ΙΣΑ [*cum virgula supraposita*]: in fine linearum modica verborum contractione usus fuit antiquus librarius, ad lineas æquandas cum una aliis longior futura esset; tunc enim in linearum fine κ , pro $\kappa\alpha$, O & A [*cum virgula supraposita*] & similia tantummodo pro ON & AN scriptum reperias; & insuper postrema lineæ vox, literis ex parte majoribus scripta, minoribus interdum sine ullo compendio literarum terminatur, quemadmodum in veteris scripturæ specimine, quod cum his literis accipies, videre est. Ex eo quoque facile cognosces, codicem hunc omnium vetustissimum esse; ejusque literas illis prorsus assimilari, quibus antiquissimæ inscriptiones græcæ exaratæ sunt. Sane Paschalis canon Hippolyti Portuensis Episcopi, qui sub ejus marmorea effigie ante Concilii Nicæni tempora, ut probabilibus conjecturis colligitur, sculptus fuit, eadem qua Vaticanus codex, quadrata scilicet literarum forma describitur; nisi quod literæ Υ Φ Ρ & Ψ in Vaticano codice fere semper, rarissime vero in Hippolyti statua, alias literas longitudine excedunt. Cum autem ea quadratis literis
scri-

scribendi ratio cum antea, tum Hippolyti Martyris ævo, ac deinceps quoque, per tria aut quatuor circiter secula viguerit; ex memorata quatuor solummodo literarum discrepantia definiri nequit, sexto vel quinto æræ Christianæ seculo, ut Vir antiquitatis libraræ, te testante, peritissimus autumat, scriptum fuisse: nisi aliis argumentis ipsius opinio fulciatur, quæ quanti ponderis esse possint non video. Quod ad variantes Osæ prophetæ lectiones ab te indicatas attinet; scias me totam quidem prophetiam cum Sixti V. editione comparasse, nihilque ab ea discrepare deprehendisse, præterquam in locis, quorum catalogum subjicio. Pag. 557, col. 1, lit. Γ, lin. 7, ΤΟΥΣΔΕΥΙΟΥΣΕΛΕΗΣΩ. Ibid. lit. Ε, lin. ult. ΟΠΩΣΑΝΕΚΛΥΣΩΑΥΤΗΝ. Col. 2, lit. Β, lin. ult. ΚΑΙΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΟΥ. Lit. Ε, lin. antepenult. ΕΝΤΗΗΜΕΡΑΕΚΕΙΝΗ. Pag. 558, lit. Β, lin. 8, ΑΝΔΡΙΚΑΙΕΓΩ. Lit. Ε, lin. 1, ΑΣΘΕΝΗΣΕΙΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ. Lin. 4, ΤΟΥΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΕΙΝ. Col. 2, lit. Β, lin. 1, ΠΟΡΝΕΥΩΣΙ; & mox ΜΟΙΧΕΥΩΣΙ. Pag. 559, col. 1, lit. Δ, ΚΑΙΙΑΣΑΙΤΕ; ita una eademque manu [*ισαται* *supra*ponitur]. Lin. 3, ΤΗΤΡΙΤΗΚΑΙΑΝΑΣΤΗΣΟΜΕΘΑ. Col. 2, lit. Γ, lin. 5, ΟΥΚ ΗΝΟΕΠΙΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΣΕΝΑΥΤΟΙΣ. Pag. 560, col. 1, lit. Ε, lin. 7, ΟΙΕΣΘΟΝΤΕΣ. Col. 2, lit. Β, lin. 2, ΠΡΩΙΜΟΝΕΙΔΟΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΑΣΑΥΤΩΝ. Lin. 9, ΟΝΤΡΟΠΟΝΕΙΣΘΗΡΑΝ. Lit. Γ, lin. 2. ΕΚΕΙΑΥΤΟΥΣΕΜΙΣΙΣΑ. Lit. Δ, lin. 8, ΕΠΑΝΘΥΝΕΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΑ. Pag. 561, col. 1, lit. Γ, lin. 1, ΤΟΥΟΙΚΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΒΟΑΜ. Col. 2, lit. Γ, lin. 1, ΚΑΙΕΝΑΣΕΒΕΙΑΟΙΚΟΣ. Lin. 2, ΚΑΙΙΑΟΣ. Pag. 562, lin. 2, ΕΝΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΚΑΙΕΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ. Lin. 7, ΑΝΤΑΠΟΔΩΣΕΙΑΥΤΩΚΣ. Lit. Β, lin. 1, ΑΥΤΟΣΕΛΑΒΕΝΕΝΤΩ. Lin. 3, ΚΑΙΠΡΟΣΕΘΕΝΤΟ. Lin. 10, ΟΘΕΟΣΣΟΥΣΤΕΡΕΩΝ. Col. 2, lit. Β, l. 7, ΔΙΟΤΙΗΣΘΕΝΗΣΑΣ. Lit. Δ, lin. 5, ΑΥΤΑΔΙΟΤΙΕΥΘΕΙΑΙ. In tribus quoque prioribus Ezechielis prophetæ capitibus hæc tantum variantes lectiones inveniuntur; nempe pag. 682, col. 1, lit. Δ, lin. 3, ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ. Col. 2, lit. Γ, lin. 1, ΙΔΟΝΩΣΟΡΑΣΙΝ. Pag. 683, col. 1, lit. Β, lin. 9, ΜΗΦΟΒΗΘΗΣ. Lit. Γ, lin. 7, ΕΝΩΠΙΟΝ ΕΜΟΥΚΑΙΕΝΑΥΤΗΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΑΗΝ. Col. 2, lit. Α, lin. 10, ΕΙΣΑΚΟΥΣΑΙΜΟΥ. Lit. Γ, lin. 3, ΦΩΝΗΝΠΤΕΡΥΓΩΝ. Lit. Δ, lin. 6, ΔΙΕΣΤΕΙΛΩΑΥΤΩΟΥΔΕΕΛΑΛΗΣΑΣ. Lin. 9, ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚΧΕΙΡΟΣΣΟΥ. Lin. 11, ΚΑΙΤΗΣΟΔΟΥΟΑΝΟΜΟΣ, sed vox ΑΥΤΟΥ

ΑΥΤΟΥ addita postmodum est eadem manu. Pag. 684, lin. 2, ΕΞΗΛΘΟΝΕΙΣΤΟΠΕΔΙΟΝ. Lin. 4, ΗΛΟΖΑΗΝΙΔΟΝ. Lin. 6, ΚΑΙΕΣΤΗΕΕ, ΑΝΕΣΤΗΕΕ [*supra*ponitur] eadem manu. Ex his discrepantibus lectionibus tibi judicandum relinquebam, Vir clarissime, an totum codicem cum accuratissima editione Romana operæ pretium esset conferre; cum in paucis nullius ferme ponderis, modo unum alterumque excipias, ab eodem codice in toto Osea & tribus Ezechielis capitulis ea de causa differe deprehendatur, quod alterius potius scripti codicis lectiones doctissimi Viri, qui editionem illam curarunt, interdum sequi maluerint. Monebam etiam te, Vir clarissime, duos Viros græce doctos, quibuscum de conferendo eodem codice cum editione Romana locutus fueram, minoris operæ censuisse totum codicem cum edito comparare, quam singula loca ab te indicanda perquirere; ac præterea, ad id perficiendum, 5 mensium tempus, ac 120 ad minus scuta Romana pro honorario, petiisse. —

Romæ, die xxix Nov. an. MDCCIV.

From this Letter there is full proof (not only that the Vat. MS wants the first 46 chapters, and 32 Psalms, but also) that the whole MS has been repair'd, with fresh ink laid over the letters, which were disappearing thro' age; and that *it has not been publish'd exactly*, since readings of consequence have sometimes been adopted from other MSS. No one therefore can infer with *certainty* from the printed copy, that *the Vat. MS reads so and so*; because such particular readings may chance to be borrow'd from the *Venice*, or the *Grecian*, or the *Florentine*, or some other MS, which (as the

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preface

preface of Carafa tells us) assisted in furnishing out the printed edition. But in an edition of SUCH A MS AS THIS, there should be printed, not only what are probably, but also what are certainly, *the mistakes of the transcriber*; because the nature of the mistakes themselves will sometimes lead to the discovery of truth. In short: not only *every letter* first made by the transcriber should be printed, as far as every such letter is discoverable; but wherever there is a rasure, or an insertion, or an alteration, *the extent of every such rasure, insertion, or alteration*, should be exactly specified. And that this MS has suffer'd some alterations from a later hand, has been asserted by two eye-witnesses: see Le Long's *Biblioth. sacra*, cap. 3, sec. 4; and also Wetstein's *Prolegom. Nov. Test.* p. 24.

The ALEXANDRIAN MS is judg'd by Grabe, to have been written about the year 396; but Mills² and Wetstein³ have suppos'd it about an hundred years later. A specimen of the character of this venerable MS is given by Grabe, *Prolegom.* 1, 6. The same Prolegomena specify the defects of this MS; that 30 Psalms, a few chapters, and a few verses, are now lost;

¹ *Prolegom.* 1, 5. ² *Prolegom.* p. 143. ³ *Prolegom.* p. 11. and

and also parts of verses in different places. And that there have also been some rasures and insertions, made in it by later hands, which fully its native glory, is allow'd by Grabe; *Prolegom.* 1; 8, 9.

As to the comparative value of these two MSS; I know of no one absolute and universal standard, by which their different excellences may be estimated. Was there now extant any Gr. MS, containing an *exact* copy of the several books, as they were originally translated; THAT MS would be perfect, and consequently the most valuable. And the nearer any copy comes to this perfection, the more valuable must it be; but the less valuable, the more it is corrupted. The Heb. text, in its present state, cannot determine fully the value of these MSS, in relation to one another; and yet, as that text receives great assistance from both, it proves that both deserve our very high regard. 'Tis remarkable, that neither has the asterisks of Origen; tho' they were both transcrib'd so early as the beginning, or (at latest) the end of the 5th century: which is one proof, that they were not taken immediately or mediately from the Hexapla. To which it may be added: that Origen plac'd the old Greek in a column parallel to the Hebrew, so

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that the version might be compar'd readily with the text; and therefore, that the chapters in the Hexaplar Greek probably succeeded each other, as the chapters in the Hebrew. But, the order of the chapters is sometimes very different from the Hebrew, both in the Vat. and Alex. copies; especially in Jeremiah, where (amongst 26 chapters now transpos'd) chapters 26, 46, 50, in the Hebrew, are in both these Greek MSS 46, 26, 27.

These MSS differ from each other chiefly in this --- that, as they contain books, which have been corrected by different persons, upon different principles; and as they differ greatly in some places in their interpolations; so they contain many words, which were either deriv'd from different Gr. versions, or else were translated by one or both of the transcribers themselves from the Heb. text, who consulted it at the time of transcribing. Out of a variety of instances, let us take two, which are short and plain. In *Jud.* 11, 7; what the Vat. copy renders *ἀγα τοῦτο*, is in the Alex. *οὐκ ἔσται*: where 'tis manifest, that the former is the version of כִּי, and the latter of כִּי אֵל; which also proves a variation in the Hebrew. And in ch. 18, 7; *αὐθιγμός* in the Vat. is in the Alex. *συρία* --- indisputably different versions;

sions; the first from אדם *homo*, and the second from ארם *Syria*.

If, as Grabe states it (*Prolegom.* 1, 10) that MS be the most respectable, which comes the nearest to the Hexaplar copy; the ALEXANDRIAN MS seems to claim that merit, in preference to its rival. ¹ If it be thought a matter of superior honour, to come nearer the old Gr. version, *uncorrected* or *uncorrupted* by Origen; ² that merit seems to be due to the VATICAN. ³ Thus in *Hof.* 4, 15; בֵּית אֵוֶן is in the Vat. copy, according to the old Greek, οἰκος ὤν: but the Alex. copy, agreeably to Theodotion (or, as Montfaucon says, Symma-

¹ Aliquot versus, quos ex Theodotione inseruit Origines, tam in Vat. quam in Alex. codice non reperiuntur. — Patet Alexandrinam lectionem cum Hexaplatari MELIUS quam Vaticanam congruere; neutram vero, puram & simplicem (si modo pura fuerit in ipsis Hexaplis) τῶν ὁ versionem continere. *Prolegom.* 3 vol. Grabe's Sept. *Alexandrinus Codex* editionem Hexaplares PENE SEQUITUR; sed etiam in editione Romana non paucae deprehenduntur lectiones, quæ ab Hexaplatari editione manarunt. Montf. *Prelim. Diss.* p. 43.

² Miror quomodo LXX interpretum libros legas, non puros, ut ab eis editi sunt, sed ab Origene EMENDATOS sive CORRUPTOS — Vis amator esse verus LXX interpretum? Non legas ea, quæ sub astericis sunt. Jerom to Austin; tom. 4, col. 626.

³ Romana LXX seniorum editio quantum accedat ad Κοινή & vulgatam Λυσιανός [seu Λυσιανός] dictam, e pluribus epistolæ hujus locis facile probari potest. Annotat. in Epist. Hieron. ad Sun. & Fret. tom. 2, col. 671.

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chus) renders it *οὐκ ἀδίκως*. Blanchini in his *Vindiciæ*, p. 256, gives 46 instances out of *Isaiab*; in which he compares the *Vat.* and *Alex.* MSS with the famous *Marcalian* and *Chisian* MSS, with *the old Koim*, and with *Montfaucon's Hexapla*. And from this comparison it appears, that the *Vat.* MS agrees most with *the old Greek*, and the *Alex.* with *the Hexapla*: for the *Vat.* agrees with the *Hexapla* in 32 instances, and in 14 with the *Koim*; whereas the *Alex.* agrees with the *Hexapla* in 42, and with the *Koim* in 2 only. After noting this from Blanchini's table, I was much surpriz'd to find a table of the same 46 instances, in the *Prolegomena* to the 3d vol. of Grabe's *Septuagint*; in which the *Alex.* MS is referr'd to in 4, and only in 4 instances, in the column *there* call'd *Hexaplar*. But I was still more surpriz'd to find, that *not one* of these 4 instances, there mark'd A, was really in the *Alex. MS*: they are indeed printed in Grabe's text, but in a *less character*, and the real readings of the MS are given in the margin.

Jerom observes, in his comment upon *Isai.* 58, 11; *in Alexandrinis exemplaribus in principio additum est*: Et adhuc in te erit laus mea semper; & *in fine*: Et ossa tua quasi herba orientur, & pinguescent, & hæreditate possidebunt

bunt in generatione & generationes: *quod non habetur in LXX emendatis & veris exemplaribus.* These additions are evidently either a different version of the words now beginning and ending this verse; or else a gloss, by way of explanation. No part of this interpolation is in the Vat. MS; and as *the latter part is in the Alexandrian*, 'tis strange that Hody should fix upon this very text, to prove this MS not to be *Alexandrian* or *Hesychian*! See p. 638.

To the preceding instances of interpolation, one other, of a different kind, may be added; which deserves our particular attention --- I mean, when *additions have been made to any part of sacred history*; which additions, after being first rashly inserted in the margin, have been afterwards injudiciously taken into the text. That there are grounds for some complaints of this nature, is allow'd by Grabe; who says --- *Additamenta sive temeritati, sive imperitiæ librariorum tribuenda puto: temeritati quidam illa --- inserta a quopiam, qui in id operam abusus est suam, ut historias, ADJECTIS NOVIS QUIBUSDAM NARRATIONIBUS, latius diduceret.* De vitiis LXX, p. 6. Interpolations, of this nature, if made late, may be discover'd easily by means of the several ancient versions: but if made very early (a little before or soon after

after the time of Christ) it may be now difficult to discover them --- and yet even in such a case, an interpolation may be detected by the Heb. text, if made in *the Gr. version*; or by the Gr. version, if made in *the Heb. text*; or by an examination of the interpolation itself and its context, if it should chance to be introduc'd into *both*. These remarks lead me to take notice of one part of the sacred history, in which there seems to be an interpolation (of the nature here describ'd) both in the Heb. text, and also in the Alex. copy of the Gr. version. And as this interpolation, if it really be one, consists of near 40 verses; a careful examination of it must be of great consequence in itself, and make an essential part in a proper history of the Heb. text. It will also be particularly proper in this place, on account of the difference in this great point between the *Vat.* and *Alex.* MSS. --

The reader has perhaps already discover'd, that the passage here meant relates to the history of David and Goliath; and that it is the same, which has been enlarg'd upon by the Reverend and learned Mr. *Pilkington*, in his *Remarks upon several passages of Scripture*: a Book, which contains many valuable observations, and to which I am much oblig'd for the
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favourable mention it makes of my Dissertation. I introduce this remarkable passage here, principally on account of *one additional* circumstance, which will strongly confirm the supposition --- that these many verses are not genuine. Mr. Pilkington has fill'd 14 pages with judicious remarks upon this suppos'd interpolation; to which pages, as I ought not to transcribe them, I desire to refer the reader. I shall therefore only quote, what is necessary to state the first and chief part; and to prepare for the confirmation, which will be here given, of the principal observation: not doubting, but if the chapter (1 Sam. 17) shall be thought interpolated from ver. 11 to ver. 32, the other parts there objected to will easily be given up also, on account of the absurdities which seem to attend them.

REMARKS, pag. 62. Had every version of the *Hebrew* Text agreed to give us a translation of this passage, as we now find it; the attempts of clearing it from its embarrassments would have been attended with very great difficulties; but, as in several other cases before mentioned, so here, the providence of God seems to have so far secured the credit of those, who were appointed to be the penmen of the oracles of truth, that the defence of their original records may be undertaken upon good grounds, and supported by sufficient evidence. For, we are now, happily, in possession of an ancient version of these two chapters, which appears to have been made from an *Hebrew* copy which had none of those 39 verses, which are here supposed to have been interpolated; nor was similar to what we have at present,

sent, in those places which are here supposed to have been altered. This version is found in the *Vatican* copy of the 70; which, whoever reads and considers, will find the accounts, there given, regular, consistent and probable. It will be proper, therefore, to examine the several parts where such alterations are supposed to have been made, in the *Hebrew Text*; in order to produce such other external or internal evidence, as shall be necessary to support the charge of interpolation; which ought not to be laid, merely upon the authority of any single version.

The first passage, which is not translated in the *Vatican* copy of the *Greek* version, is, from the 11th to the 32d verse of the 17th chapter, wherein we have an account, 1st, Of *David's* being sent to the camp to visit his brethren; 2^{dly}, Of his conversation with the men of *Israel*, relating to *Goliab's* challenge, and their informing him of the Premium *Saul* had offered to any one, that should accept it and come off victorious; 3^{dly}, Of *Eliab's* remarkable behaviour to his brother *David*, upon his making this enquiry: and 4^{thly}, Of *Saul's* being made acquainted with what *David* had said upon this occasion.

It is obvious to remark upon this passage, 1st. that after *David* had been of so much service to the king, in causing the evil Spirit to depart from him: after its being recorded how greatly *Saul* loved him, and that he had made him his armour-bearer: after the king had sent to *Jesse*, to signify his intention of keeping his son with him: all which are particularly mentioned, in the latter part of the preceding chapter: the account of his keeping his father's sheep, afterwards, and being sent to his brethren upon this occasion, must appear to be somewhat improbable.

2^{dly}. That what is here said of the Premium, that *Saul* had offered to him who should conquer the *Philistine*, is not well consistent with the accounts afterwards given; of which we shall have occasion to take particular notice. 3^{dly}. That *Eliab's* behaviour, as here represented, is not only remarkable, but unaccountable and absurd. And 4^{thly}. That the enquiries of a young man, who is not said to have declared any intentions of accepting the challenge of the *Philistine*, would scarcely have been related

related to the king. — But now, if this passage be supposed to have been interpolated; we must see how the connection stands, upon its being omitted.

V. 11. "When *Saul*, and all *Israel*, heard these words of the "*Philistine*; they were dismayed, and greatly afraid.

V. 32. "Then *David* said unto *Saul*, Let no man's heart "fail because of him; thy servant will go, and fight with this "*Philistine*."

No connection can be more proper: and, and in this view, *David* is represented as being, at that time, an attendant upon the king: and, when we had been told, just before (16, 21) that *Saul* had made him his armour-bearer, we might justly expect to find him with him, when the battle was set in array: 17, 2. — In this connection, *David* is also represented, as fully answering the character before given of him; "A mighty valiant man, and a man of war:" 16, 18; and ready to fight with the *Giant* upon the first proposal: (for, the account of the *Philistine*'s presenting himself forty days, is in this passage here supposed to have been interpolated; 17, 16.) I shall leave it to the critical *Hebrew* Reader to make what particular remarks he may think proper, in respect to the style, and manner of expression, in these 20 verses; and let *Jesse* go for an old man, amongst men, in the days of *Saul*, &c.

The authorities here brought, to prove this great interpolation, are the internal evidence, arising from the *context*; and the external, arising from the *Vatican* copy of the Gr. version. But, how then reads the *Alexandrian* MS? *The Remarks* acknowledge, that this MS agrees here with the corrupted *Hebrew*; and therefore was probably translated (in this part) from some late *Heb.* copy, which had been thus interpolated: — see pag. 72, 75. Now that

these 2 MSS do contain different rendrings, in some places, I observ'd in pag. 398 --- 404. And in this 17th chapter of *Samuel*, in ver. 4, the Alex. MS says (agreeably to the present Hebrew) that the height of Goliath was *six cubits and a span*: i.e. above ELEVEN foot: but the Vat. MS (agreeably to Josephus*) that it was *four cubits and a span*: i.e. near EIGHT foot. And in ver. 43; what the Vat. renders, *he cursed David by his gods*, the Alex. renders *by his idols*. But, tho' the Heb. text might be consulted, and a few words differently render'd by the transcriber of one of these MSS, or by the transcribers of the MSS from which these MSS were taken; yet as these MSS do contain in this chapter such Greek as is almost universally the same (in verb, noun and particle) I presume, that they contain here the same translation, with the design'd alteration of only a few words, and with the difference of the interpolated verses found in the Alex. MS.

But, after all; what if the Alex. MS, which

* 'Tis necessary to shew, that the Gr. text of Josephus reads ~~πικρ~~ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΩΝ; because Hudson's *Latin version*, plac'd in the parallel column, in Hudson's edition (thro' a strange want of care, or thro' a strong spirit of conforming to the Heb. text) reads *cubitorum sex*. See *lib. 6, cap. 9, sec. 1*.

now has these verses, should *itself* prove them interpolated? What, if *the very words of this very MS* demonstrate, that these verses were not in some former Gr. MS? Certainly, if the Alex. MS should be thus found, at last, not to contradict, but to confirm the Vatican, in its omission of these 20 verses; the concurrence of these authorities will render the argument much more forcible and convincing.

Let us then state the present question; which is, Whether the 20 verses, between ver. 11 and ver. 32, which are now in the Heb. text, are interpolated. The Vat. MS goes on, immediately from the end of the 11th verse (--- και εφοβησαν σφοδρα.) to ver. 32d, which begins και επι Δαυιδ: whereas the 12th verse in the Hebrew begins, *not with a speech*, but with David's birth and parentage. If then, the Alex. MS begins its present 12th verse, as the 32d verse begins, and as the 12th verse could not begin properly; I appeal to any man of judgment, *Whether the transcriber was not certainly copying from a MS, in which the 32d verse succeeded the 11th verse:* and, if so; then *from a MS, which had not these intermediate verses.* Now that this is in fact the case, will at once appear, upon examining the Alex. copy; where the 12th verse begins with

ΚΑΙ ΕΙΠΕ ΔΑΥΙΔ --- exactly as the 32d verse begins, and as the 12th verse could not begin properly.

The case seems clearly to be ; that the transcriber, having wrote what is now in the 11th verse, was beginning what is now the 32d verse ; when, after writing *καὶ εἶπε Δαυὶδ*, he perceiv'd, that either the Hebrew, or some other Gr. copy, or the margin of his own copy, had several intermediate verses. Upon which, without blotting out the significant word ΕΙΠΕ, he goes on to write the addition ; thus fortunately leaving a decisive proof of his own great interpolation. If this addition was in the margin of that MS, from which the Alex. was transcrib'd ; it might be inserted by that transcriber. But if it was inserted, either from the Hebrew, or from any other Gr. copy ; the transcriber of this MS seems to have had too little learning for such a proceeding. If it was done by the writer of that *former* MS ; then the interpolation may be 100, or 150 years older than the Alex. MS. Perhaps the earliest Christian writer, who enlarges upon the strange circumstance, of Davids coming from the sheep to the army, is Chrysostom ; in his homily upon David and Saul : so that, it had then been long in some
copies

copies of the Gr. version. The truth seems to be; that the addition of these 20 verses took its first rise from what Josephus had inserted, in his variation and embellishment of this history: but, that many circumstances were afterwards added to his additions.

For (and it is extremely remarkable) tho' Josephus has some, he has not half the improbabilities, which are found *at present* in the sacred history: as for instance — Nothing of *the armies being fighting in the valley, or fighting at all*, when David was sent by his father; as in *ver. 19* — Nothing of *the host going forth, and shouting for the battle*, at the time of David's arrival; as in *ver. 20* — Nothing of *all the men of Israel fleeing from Goliath*, as in *ver. 24*; on the contrary, *the two armies* (it should seem) continued upon their *two mountains* — Nothing of *David's long conversation with the soldiers* (*ver. 25 --- 27*) in seasons so very improper, as whilst they were *shouting for the battle*, or whilst they were *fleeing from Goliath*; and *fleeing* from a man, after they had seen him, and heard him, *twice in every day, for forty days together*; (*ver. 16*) the two armies, all this very long while, leaning upon their arms, and looking very peaceably at one another — No-

—— Nothing of Goliath's repeating his challenge *every morning and every evening*; as in *ver. 16*. David ('tis said, *ver. 23*) happen'd to hear one of these challenges; but if he heard *the evening challenge*, it would have been then too late for the several transactions before, and the long pursuit after, Goliath's death; and David could not well hear *the morning challenge*, because he could scarce have arriv'd so early, after travelling from *Bethlehem* to the army (about 15 miles) and bringing with him *an ephah of parched corn, and ten loaves, and ten cheeses*; as in *ver. 17, 18*

—— Nothing of encouraging any man to fight Goliath by *an offer of the king's daughter* (*ver. 25*) which, as it seems from the subsequent history, had never been thought of; and which, had it been offer'd, would probably have been accepted by some man or other out of the whole army —— Nothing of Eliab's reprimanding David, for *coming to see the battle*, as in *ver. 28*; but for a very different reason: and indeed it is highly improbable, that Eliab should treat him at all with contempt and scurrility, after having seen Samuel anoint him for the future king of Israel: see *ch. 16; 1, 13* —— Nothing of *a second conversation* between David and the soldiers; as in *ver. 30,*

31— Nothing of *Saul and Abner's not knowing who was David's father*, at the time of his going forth against the Philistine; as in *ver. 55* — Nothing of David's being *introduc'd to the king by Abner*, in form, after killing the Philistine (*ver. 57*) at a time, when the king and the captain of the host had no leisure for complimentary ceremony, but were set out (*ver. 52*) in *immediate and full pursuit of the Philistines*. Nor, lastly, is any notice taken *here* by Josephus of (what now begins the 18 chapter) *Jonathan's friendship for David*; which is related elsewhere, and in a different manner. On the contrary; as soon as Josephus has mention'd Goliath's death; and told us, that Saul and all Israel shouted, and fell at once upon the Philistines; and that, when the pursuit was ended, the head of Goliath was carried *by David into his own tent* (and he could have then *no tent of his own*, if he had not been then an officer in the army) I say, as soon as Josephus has recorded these circumstances, he goes on to *Saul's envy and hatred of David, arising from the women's songs of congratulation*; exactly as these capital parts of the history are connected in the VATICAN MS. And with this circumstance I shall conclude these remarks, earnestly

recommending the whole to the learned reader's attentive examination.

It must not however be forgot, that the learned F. Houbigant has, in his Bible, plac'd these 20 verses (from the 11th to the 32d) between *books*; as containing a passage, which comes in very improperly. And part of his note upon the place is this --- *Hoc sublato, nihil restabit in contextu lacunofum; nec series abruptitur, si jungis ver. 11 cum 32; ut apud editionem Romanam. Parum credibile est, eundem scriptorem sacrum, qui antea narravit Davidem esse filium Isai, habuisse Isai filios octo, primogenitum esse Eliab, alterum Abinadab, tertium Samma, & cætera id genus, hæc eadem mox iterasse: hæc enim non erant ejusmodi, ut iteranda esse viderentur. --- Nos hæc uncinis includimus; ut intelligatur, HÆC NON ESSE EJUSDEM, cujus sunt reliqua, SCRIPTORIS; & ne accusetur hujus libri sacer scriptor, tanquam contextum suum iterationibus otiosis, neque ex re natis, infercisset.*

Tho' several other observations might be added, as to the preceding corruption; yet I must not enlarge farther at present. And therefore I shall here conclude this subject; and, with it, the history of the Heb. text, during this second period; as soon as I have obviated
briefly

briefly the few following objections. For it will be objected --- that the verses, here suppos'd to be interpolated, are *very many* --- that it is not easy to conceive, *when* such an interpolation could have been introduc'd --- and that, tho' several proofs have been given of interpolations in *the Gr. version*, yet no one proof has been given of *any other passage interpolated in the Heb. text*.

Now, as to the greatness of this interpolation; if the reader be surpriz'd at this, I can acquaint him with another, that is much larger --- consisting of 230 LINES. This very wonderful interpolation begins at 2 *Chron.* 2, 7; and was made in an Heb. MS, now in the British Museum, *Harl.* N°. 5506.

If it be enquir'd, as to this interpolation in *Samuel*; *When* it could possibly be introduc'd into the text? It may be observ'd; that *about the time of Josephus*, the Jews seem to have been fond of enlarging, and (as they vainly thought it) embellishing the sacred history, by inventing speeches, and prayers, and hymns, and also new articles of history, and these of considerable length: witness the several additions to the book of *Esther*; witness the long story, concerning *wine, women and truth*, inserted amidst parts of the genuine history of

Ezra and Nehemiah, and work'd up into what is now call'd *the first book of Esdras*: witness the hymn of the the 3 children in the fiery furnace, added to *Daniel*: and witness also the many additions in *Josephus*. Certainly then, some few remarks might be noted by the Jews, and some few of their historical additions, might be inserted, in the margin of their Heb. copies; which might afterwards be taken into the text itself by injudicious transcribers.

The history of David's conquest of the mighty and insulting Philistine is certainly very engaging; and it gives a most amiable description of a brave young man, relying with firm confidence upon the aid of the *GOD of battle*, against a blaspheming enemy. 'Tis not therefore very strange, that some fanciful Rabbins should be particularly struck with the strange circumstances of the Philistine's daring to challenge all Israel, and David's cutting off the giant's head with the giant's own sword. And then, finding that Josephus had said, that *David came from the sheep to the camp, and happen'd to hear the challenge*; the Rabbin might think it very natural, that David should be indignant against the giant, and talk valourously to the soldiers, and that the soldiers should

should mightily encourage David: and then (to be sure) this was the most lucky season to introduce the celebrated friendship of Jonathan for David; particularly, when (according to these additions) Jonathan had seen *Abner leading David in triumph to the king's presence*; every one admiring the young hero, as he proudly advanc'd, with the grim *head of the Philistine in his hand*. So that this multiform addition and fanciful embellishment of the Rabbin reminds one of the motley absurdity describ'd by the poet in the famous lines ---

*Humano Capiti cervicem Pictor equinam
Jungere si velit, & varias inducere plumas &c.*

The passage, suppos'd to be interpolated here, was in the Heb. text before the time of Aquila; because there are preserv'd a few of the differences in those translations of it, which were made by Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus. These verses, being thus acknowledg'd at that time, would doubtless be found in such copies, as the Jews then declar'd to be *genuine*; and which they deliver'd afterwards to Origen as such. And that Origen did refer to the Jews, for such copies as *they held genuine*; he allows, in his epistle to Africanus: for there he speaks of *soothing* the Jews, in order to get *pure* copies from them

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--- κολακευειν Ισδαιας και πειθειν, ινα μεταδωσιν ημιν των καθαρων και μηδεν πλασμα εχοντων.

ZUINGLIUS, whose name is justly reverenc'd, and especially by foreign Protestants, will perhaps be a proper authority to urge in favour of the opinion --- that there may have been a passage interpolated in the Heb. text. For this famous writer remarks thus upon *Jerem.* 52; 28, 29, 30. *Ut ingenue dicam quid de isto catalogo sentiam; adparet eum alicujus potius esse, QUI GENTIS JUDAICÆ IGNOMINIAM VOLUERIT ALIQUA RATIONE LEVARE, quam ipsius Jeremiæ. Nam si ad census pristinos respicias, longe major fuit numerus Hebræorum, quam ut TAM PAUCI fuerint capti; & hoc, tribus bellis. Nisi quis fame, peste ac præliis causetur deletos, quo minus major modus sit captus. Sed ista non tam libenter recipiet animus judicandi peritus, atque prompte fingitur. Verum utcunque res habeat, nolui præterire illum (catalogum) ne quid querulis deesset. Id maximum est; quod LXX NE FRAGMENTUM QUIDEM ULLUM HUIUS CATALOGI HABENT.** I shall only add to this excellent remark; that the Heb. text itself allows, that

* These 3 verses are also interpolated in the Arab. version; being inserted between hooks in the Eng. Polyglott; and mark'd as taken from a different MS.

the words of Jeremiah ended, at the end of the 51st chapter. This 52d chapter therefore is tack'd on here, to introduce the book of *Lamentations*; and it is evidently a copy of the conclusion of the book of *Kings*, with some corruptions, and with the interpolation of these 3 verses. Where this interpolation comes in, there are a few verses in *Kings*, which mention the government and death of Gedaliah; and this genuine part of the history in *Kings* is left out in this chapter (call'd Jeremiah's) in order to make room for this spurious insertion. For these 3 verses are not in *Kings*, but seem absolutely irreconcilable with what is there recorded: for *here* we are told, that the whole number of the Jews carried away captive, at the 3 different times, was only 4600; whereas we are assur'd, in 2 *Kin.* 24; 14, 16, that at one single time there were carried away no less than 17000.

P E R I O D I I I.

From the Year after Christ 400,
To the Conclusion of the Talmud, about 700.

Having thus mention'd the several articles, which fall within the *second* period, during which it is probable that the greatest part of
the

the corruptions in the Heb. text happen'd; and having endeavour'd to state them in proportion to their extensive consequence, which has requir'd a great variety of observations; I shall be oblig'd to be short in the history of the remaining periods. I proceed therefore, in the order before propos'd, to consider the Heb. text, during the *third* period; and, as this and the following periods are less important, they will require fewer observations.

The first article in this third period must be the translation, or rather translations, of the very eminent and learned St. Jerom; who died in the year 420: and 'tis well known, that he made *two* (if not three) Latin translations of the old Testament. A multitude of Latin versions had been made (from the Greek) before Jerom's; and there was one, call'd *the old Italic* or *vulgar Latin*, which was made for the use of the Latins soon after their conversion to Christianity. This old Italic version was allow'd to be far superior to all the rest; being, as Austin calls it --- *tenacior verborum cum perspicuitate sententiæ*: which version becoming corrupt, Jerom (between the years 370 and 380) made a new Lat. version from the Hexaplar Greek, inserting also the asterisks and other marks of Origen: which marks

marks were soon after (in a second edition) omitted' ---- whether *the asterisc'd passages* were omitted also, is perhaps uncertain.

About the year 390 he began a new Latin version of the old Testament, from *the Hebrew*; to which he was induc'd by the many corruptions crept into the Gr. version. This reason he gives frequently, particularly in his preface to the *Chronicles*; where he says --- *Si LXX interpretum pura, & ut ab eis in Græcum versa est, editio permaneret; superflue me, mi Chromati, impelleres, ut Hebræa volumina Latino sermone transferrem.* In this version from the Hebrew, the books he first publish'd were *Samuel* and *Kings*, and the last were the *Pentateuch*, *Joshua*, and *Esther*: concluding the whole about the year 407.

One reason, given by Jerom for this Lat. version, agrees remarkably with that given by Origen for interpolating the old Greek ---- that *the Christians might know what was in the Heb. text then allow'd by the Jews*; since the Jews, in Jerom's days also, frequently insulted the Christians with telling them, *It was not so in the Hebrew.*² We seem to have a proof

¹ *Epist. ad Augustinum*; tom. 4, col. 626.

² *Hebræus tecum disputans, volensque te illudere, per sermones pene singulos afferebat, non ita haberi in Hebræo* — Jerom to So-

here, that some corruptions had crept into the Heb. text, between the days of Origen and Jerom. Origen had given the Heb. text, as the Jews *then* approv'd of it (see p. 424) and Jerom had free access to Origen's Hexapla. And therefore, had no alterations happen'd, or were none likely to have happen'd, in the intermediate 150 years; would Jerom have earnestly desir'd *other Heb. copies*? Or, when he privately got a sight of other copies; would he have been very eager to have transcrib'd them? These facts (and they are very considerable) appear from his letter to Pope Damasus (who died in 384) in which he apologizes for having long deferr'd answering Damasus, on account of his fortunately obtaining, and transcribing several Heb. volumes; which a Jew (under pretence of *perusing* them) had borrow'd out of a synagogue, at *Jerom's own request*. For he says (*tom. 2. col. 563*) he was preparing to answer the letter from Damasus --- *quum subito Hebræus intervenit, deferens non pauca volumina; quæ de*

phronius; tom. 1, col. 835. The reason of this Latin version he gives also, in his letter to Austin — *Ut scirent nostri, quid Hebraica veritas contineret. Non nostra consinximus; sed, ut apud Hebræos invenimus, divina transtulimus. Sicubi dubitas, Hebræos interroga. Sed forte dices: quid, si Hebræi aut respondere noluerint, aut mentiri voluerint?* — *Tom. 4, col. 627.*

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synagoga, quasi lecturus, acceperat. Et ilico; HABES, inquit, QUOD POSTULAVERAS: meque dubium, & quid facerem nescientem, ita festinus exterruit, ut, omnibus prætermis, ad scribendum transvolarem; quod quidem usque ad præsens facio.

Whatever corruptions obtain'd in these Heb. copies, doubtless obtain'd in Jerom's Lat. version, begun soon after: and indeed, his adhering to the Heb. verity is frequently asserted; and he appeals to the Jews for such a conformity. * Hody (p. 552) observes of the great reformer LUTHER, *quod textui Heb. hodiernominus favisse videtur*: and, that it was a remark of Luther's --- *Rabbini varie depravarunt; itaque Hieronymum quoque deceperunt.* But he observes (p. 429) that the justly-celebrated ROGER BACON remarks --- *Jeronymus, quia falsarius reputabatur a viris Ecclesiasticis, non ausus fuit ubique transferre secundum Hebraicam veritatem.* Jerom seems to use the words *Hebrew verity*; as speaking of *the Original*, in opposition to the corrupt Gr. version: and not, as some have imagin'd, because he thought *the Heb. text* to be absolutely un-

* *Mibi omnino conscius non sum, mutasse me quidpiam de Hebraica veritate. Interroga quemlibet Hebræorum.* Tom. 1, col. 322.

corrupted. For 'tis impossible, he could think so: when he allows, that the Heb. copies in the time of Aquila were *very different* from those in his own time; ¹ when he frequently notes *variations* in the Heb. copies; ² and when he saw the difficulty of transcribing Heb. MSS, without making some mistakes, on account of the *small* character, in which those MSS were written. ³ I shall only observe farther as to Jerom; that he seems to prove, that *the numbers* in the Heb. text were express'd by numeral letters: for he says (tom. 3, col. 1754) *Iota litera, non solum apud Græcos, sed & apud Hebræos, denarium numerum significat.*

Such then is the assistance, we may receive from this celebrated Father, and such is the nature of his Lat. version. But here we must observe; that the version, now authenticated under the title of the *Vulgat*, is not the very

¹ *Quinque libri Moſis, plus quam cæteri, cum Hebraicis conſonant. Sed & Aquila, & Symmachus, & Theodotion, longe aliter habent quam nos legimus. Tom. 2, col. 507.*

² *Multa ſunt exemplaria apud Hebræos; quæ ne ſemel quidem Dominum habeant. Sciendum, in quibuſdam Hebraicis voluminibus non eſſe additum omnis. Tom. 2, col. 635; & 3, 1616.*

³ *Caligantibus oculis ſenectute, ad nocturnum lumen nequaquam valeamus Hebræorum volumina relegere; quæ etiam ad ſolis dieique fulgorem, literarum parvitate, nobis cæcantur. Tom. 3, col. 842.*

version thus made by Jerom; but a version compounded of *the old Italic* and *Jerom's version* together, so as to make a *third* different from either of the two former. * We must observe also, that the MSS of this version are found to differ (in some instances) from the printed copies; see p. 202 --- that it has been printed, with many and great variations, by the Popes Sixtus and Clement; see p. 197 --- and yet, that even in its present state, it preserves many true readings, where the modern Heb. copies are corrupted: see *Cappel. Crit. Sac.* p. 351 --- 371.

I shall conclude this article with observing, that the Heb. MSS now extant contain some words, which are entirely different from the printed Heb. text, and yet are the very words translated in the printed Latin version. In my Dissertation, p. 516; one instance was quoted from *Ezek. 45, 1*: where, tho' the printed Hebrew reads בנחלה *in hæreditate*, our oldest Heb. MS reads בגורל, agreeably to *sortito* in the Vulgat. I shall add another instance, much more remarkable; relating to *Jerem. 51, 19*. The printed text is --- לא כאלה חלק --- יעקוב כי יוצר הכל הוא ושבת נחלתו --- *Non sicut hæc pars Jacobi, quia plasmatior omnium*

* See Walton's *Prolegomena*; 10, 9.

ipse, & sceptrum hæreditatis ejus. The contrast here is between the true God, the God of Israel, and false gods, the idols of the heathen. But what sense is there in the present words --- *The portion of Jacob is not like them; for he is the former of all things, and the rod of his inheritance?* The translators of the Eng. version were so sensible, that the text was here corrupted, that they have not scrupled to suppose *a whole word* dropp'd out in the Hebrew, which therefore they have inserted; for they read --- *And ISRAEL is the rod of his inheritance.* Neither the present Greek nor Syriac version has the word *Israel*; but (which is extraordinary) this word is preserv'd in the *Chald. paraphrase*, and also in *THE VULGAT*; and the latter reads --- *& Israel sceptrum hæreditatis ejus.* This also is the very reading here in one of the *Harleian MSS*, catalogued N°. 5721; which reads *וישראל שבט נחלתו*. And lastly; to put to silence every advocate for the perfection of this Heb. verse in its printed state, it may be added --- that in ch. 10, 16, we have this same verse, with *וישראל* in the printed Hebrew.

לא כאלה חלק יעקב כי יוצר הכל הוא *Jerem. 10, 16.*

לא כאלה חלק יעקוב כי יוצר הכל הוא *Jerem. 51, 19.*

וישראל שבט נחלתו יהוה צבאות שמו: *Jerem. 10, 16.*

ושבט נחלתו יהוה צבאות שמו: *Jerem. 51, 19.*

If we descend from the time of Jerom, and the Latin version; we may reasonably suppose, that many mistakes have been made since by the transcribers of the Heb. MSS: tho' we may not be able precisely to point out *when*, or *how*, such mistakes were made. And that this has been the case, in many instances, is evident from the works of Jerom; because he has frequently observ'd, that the Heb. text in his time read so and so, where it now reads differently. *Quicumque vel Hieronymi solius super Genesin quaestiones diligenter examinaverit; is quot quantique errores vel variationes in Hebraea lingua ex punctis, LITERARUMQUE SIMILITUDINIBUS, oriri possint, facile cognoscet: invenietque saepe nunc in Hebraeo non esse lectionem, quam Hieronymus tunc habuisse profitetur.* Grab. Sept. vol. 2, prolegom. 1, 24.

The principal article, which remains to be mention'd in this period, is *the Talmud*. This celebrated work consists of two parts; *the Mishnah*, or the second law, containing many Jewish traditions; and *the Gemara*, or full explanation, being a large comment upon the Mishnah. This text and its comment contain what has been call'd *the oral law*; as having been long deliver'd down by word of mouth.

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The text must have preceded its comment; and 'tis generally allow'd, they were written and publish'd in different ages. As to the time, when the Mishnah was first *written*, the learned differ; some dating it at the end of the 4th, and others at the end of the 5th or beginning of the 6th century. It has been asserted, that St. Barnabas (*Epist. sec. 7*) proves some kind of Mishnah to have been *written*, even in the Apostolic times. But, the words *μεγαμμενης εντολης* seem clearly to relate to the *command written* in *Levit. 23, 29*. For, as that text says, *Whatsoever soul shall not be afflicted in that same day, he shall be cut off from among his people*; so Barnabas, explaining these words, says, *ὅς αν μη νηστειη την νηστειαν, θανατω εξολοθρευθησεται*, ΕΝΕΤΕΙΛΑΤΟ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ. This *written command*, being thus expressly referr'd to the LORD, does not prove, that *the traditions of men* concerning this command *were then in writing*. But the command of the Lord, here said to be written, refers to the preceding text of Scripture; as Menard observes, in his note on this passage ---- *Locus, a sancto Barnaba productus, sumitur ex 23. Levit; prolatus potius ex sensu, quam verbis.*

The authority of St. Jerom has also been brought, to prove that the Mishnical (or secondary)

condary) doctrines of the Jews were, in his time, *in writing*. But the epistle to Algasia, which is referr'd to, on this occasion, seems to prove the contrary. It speaks of these traditions, 'tis true. But then it speaks of them, not as *written*, nor as READ to the people (which would imply their being *written*) but as being deliver'd by word of mouth --- *Solent RESPONDERE, & DICERE, Magistri nostri tradiderunt nobis &c. Certis diebus traditiones suas exponunt, dicentes, οἱ σοφοὶ διδασκῶσιν, id est, SAPIENTES (not legunt, but) DOCENT TRADITIONES.* Tom. 4, col. 207. St. Austin, who died in the year 430, says expressly that the Jewish traditions were NOT *in writing* --- *Præter Scripturas legitimas & propheticas, habent Judæi quasdam traditiones suas; quas non scriptas habent, sed memoriter tenent, & alter in alterum loquendo transfundit, quam DEUTEROSIN vocant.* *

It seems therefore to be certain; that the Mishnah was not committed to writing, till near the middle of the 5th century, at soonest. And yet, that it was *written* before 500, seems evident; because in 548 Justinian interdicted the use of it in the synagogues, and threaten'd

* See *Contra adversar. Leg. & Proph. lib. 2, cap. 1.*

severe punishment to the *Archipherecita* --- which word (being compounded of Greek and Hebrew) signifies *the chief* Jew in the synagogue, who had the honour of reading *the first chapter* of the Mishnah. In the beginning of this 6th century, the Jewish chiefs attempted to bring the common Jews to hear, and to read, the old Testament in Hebrew; which, as the people had been long us'd to some Gr. version, occasion'd great commotions. And therefore Justinian, by his imperial edict, continued to the common Jews the privilege of using any vernacular version; and also forbad their chiefs to read publickly *την Δευτερωσιν* (sc. Mishnam) *ως μη ταις ιεραϊς ανηλημμενην βιβλοις.*

This collection of traditions, with their several comments, was first put together by the Jews in Palestine, about the year 600; which Mishnah and Gemara are call'd *the Jerusalem Talmud*. And towards the year 700, was compos'd *the Talmud of Babylon*; being the Mishnah and Gemara, as put together by the Jews in the Eastern provinces. This latter is the Talmud now principally regarded; and as the comment of it is generally held more valuable than the text, the whole is sometimes call'd *the Gemara*. The time of the Talmud being thus

thus settled, * we must now recollect what was before prov'd (see pag. 247, 252, 255, 261) that *the quotations* from the Heb. text, inserted in *the Talmud*, were different in many instances from *the readings in the present Heb. copies*; and therefore, that the Heb. text has suffer'd alterations since.

Let it be observ'd here; that, from the beginning of this to the end of the next period, the Jews had a Senate, or occasional assembly of their chief men; to whose decrees obedience was rigidly exacted from their brethren thro' the world. So that whatever regulations were made by this Senate, as to the confirming or rejecting any particular readings in their sacred books; these regulations would uniformly influence *all*, or nearly all, of the Heb. copies. *Licet curta sit nobis literarum Judaicarum supellex; attamen certo scimus, Judæos Senatum quendam habuisse (usque dum 600 annos post Augustinum) cujus decretis gens universa lubenter obtemperabat: si quis vero tantillum refragabatur, reliquorum consensu amov-
vaywov de repente factum fuisse, aquaque & igni illi interdictum. — Hinc colligis, quanta facili-*

See Masclef, *Novæ Grammat. argumenta*; p. 6 — 10; where he mentions several strong circumstances, in proof of *the Gemara* being written in the 7th century.

*tate, ad an. 1000, Judæorum libri per univ-
sum orbem depravari potuerint. Morin. de
Heb. tex. sinceritate; p. 25, 30.*

P E R I O D IV.

From the Conclusion of the Talmud;
To B. Asher and B. Naphtali, about 1000.

The Talmud, thus publish'd both at Jeru-
salem and Babylon, was in the highest esteem
amongst *all* the Jews, at the beginning of this
period: and indeed has receiv'd exalted ho-
nour from *many* of the Jews, even to this day.
Buxtorf records some of their sayings, to shew
that their veneration for *the Oral* law: i.e.
the law of traditions (now written also) was
greater than that for *the written law* i.e. the
law given by Moses and the Prophets. They
were not only absurd, but profane, in this
strange preference; in thus remarkably, once
more, *making the word of God of none effect,
thro' their traditions.* Buxtorf says; *Laudata
& trita in Rabbinorum scriptis est sententia:*
“Fili mi, attende ad verba Scribarum magis
“quam ad verba Legis, sc. Mosi. Scito, ver-
“ba Scribarum amabilia esse verbis Prophe-
“tarum.” * So that Buxtorf might well ex-

* See the original words of these and other similar sayings, in
Buxtorf's book, *De Abbrev. Heb.* p. 226

claim (p. 228) *Vides, lector, obstinatissimæ & obcæcatissimæ gentis, de suo Talmud & ejus compilatoribus, impudentissima & impia elogia. An ergo mirum; quod Dei verbum reliquerunt, & patrum traditiones secuti sunt?* And, in p. 335, this author observes --- *Prisci illi Judæi, ad annum usque millesimum Christi, tantum erant in Talmudicis occupati, de Bibliis illustrandis parum solliciti.*

But tho' this latter part of Buxtorf's censure may be just, as to the bulk of the Jews; yet Masclef assures us, that some of the more learned were griev'd at this blind superstition; and endeavour'd to bring back their brethren to a proper preference of *the word of God*. On this account, they and their followers were call'd קראים *quasi* Scripturarii, *quia solis Scripturis credere se profitebantur; cæteris, eo quod Rabbinorum traditionibus mordicus adhærerent, Rabbanistarum nomen inditum: Karaïtæ circa ann. 740 exorti sunt.* Pag. 10.

Morinus thought he could discover, that the ancient Jews *review'd* the Heb. text *five times*, before the invention of the vowel points; see *Exercit.* p. 408. Masclef was of the same opinion; and it may be proper to express his sentiments in his own words. *Non paucae leguntur a Judæis peractæ librorum sacrorum casti-*

castigationes sive recensiones. De PRIMA, quæ dicitur ablatio scribarum, mentio fit in Talmude: 5 tantummodo dictiones spectat. Fit ibidem mentio de SECUNDA, quæ est quarundam dictionum, quæ leguntur & non scribuntur; & vice versa. Differunt illæ ab eis, quæ postea magno numero a primis Massorethis, in Bibliorum marginibus notatæ, dicuntur simpliciter Keri. TERTIAM, quæ correctio scribarum dicitur, commemorant plures antiqui Medrashim: spectat ea 20 circiter dictiones hinc & inde sparsas. QUARTÆ mentionem facit tractatus Sopherim; cum, plurima loca referens, quibus non consentiebant codices MSti, ait lectionem illam fuisse electam, quæ pluribus MStis fulciebatur. Auctor libri Sopherim anxie exponit, quomodo describi debeant libri Legis --- quæ male scripta eradi, quæ non eradi possint, citra libri profanationem; quæ dictiones in duas dividi debeant, quæ divisæ in unam conjungi; quæ scribantur cum una litera, & legantur cum alia --- quæ literæ scribi debeant majusculæ, suspensæ, inversæ; quæ dictiones supernotari, quæ scribi, & non legi; quæ non scribi & legi; quæ aliter scribi, & aliter legi: &c. Talmude multo posterior est, quia de ea farragine loquitur tam magnifice: Similis est (inquit) aquæ Scriptura, Mishna vino, Talmud condito. QUINTA re-
censo

cenſio multo celebrior eſt, continetque 216 varias lectiones, quarum nulla in Lege. Occidentales Judæi, in Palæſtina degentes, textum (poſt 4 recenſiones jam memoratas) recenſuerant, & codices inter ſe contulerant; varias lectiones, nec non conjecturas memoratu dignas, adnotarunt. Iſta recenſio, cum in Babyloniorum Judæorum manus deveniſſet, ab eis reviſa eſt, & cum ſuis codicibus comparata. Itaque 216 loca notarunt, in quibus optimi eorum codices ab Occidentalium codicibus differebant: & non quoad puncta & accentus, ſed diſtiones & literas. Recenſio illa Babylonica non potuit abſolvi, niſi exacto octavo Chriſti ſeculo.

From theſe ſeveral reviews of the Heb. text it appears, that, warm as the zeal of many Jews was for their Talmud; yet ſome of them did not forget their ſacred Scriptures. How many MSS were uſ'd, on each of theſe occaſions, is not ſaid; nor with what degree of exactneſs the reviews were made. If the MSS varied *then*, as much as thoſe at preſent; they would have furniſh'd far more various readings, unleſs the MSS themſelves were very few. Perhaps, if they were many, they might be examin'd very ſlightly; and perhaps many other variations might be then noted, which are now forgotten.

Some

Some examination, it seems, had been made of the Heb. copies, before the writing of the Talmud. For we learn from the 1st of the preceding articles, that the Talmud mentions *Ittur sopherim*; which means, that in some places the scribes took away the *Vau*: and yet, how considerable that letter may be, see p. 375. The 2d article tells us, that the Talmud speaks also of *Keri and Cetib*; so that there was then a catalogue begun of various readings, which were afterwards allow'd to amount to about 1000; and which would now amount to ten times that number. That many others have been noted by the Jews themselves, see p. 286. Under the 3d article, within this period, we hear of *Tikkun sopherim*, or the ordination and correction of many words by the scribes; some of these consist in the alteration of pronouns, as *להם illis* for *לי mibi*; others of verbs and nouns, as *נמות moriemur* for *תמות morieris*, and *אהליו tentoria sua* for *אלהיו dei sui*. We find also, under the 4th article, that the Jewish critics determin'd for such readings, as were preserv'd in the greater number of copies; agreeably to p. 247, 259. How many readings were thus accidentally preferr'd, is not specified: perhaps it could not; as it might not be known, when
this

this blind principle began to operate, and how long its influence continued. The 5th article specifies the various readings, then noted, as being 216. And lastly; to these reviews may be added *a sixth*, made by *B. Asher* and *B. Naphtali*; the former being Rector of the schools in Palestine, and the latter in Babylon. If these two critics corrected *any letters and words*; no particulars of these corrections have been recorded. The merit of these chiefs is generally said to consist in noting the differences of the present punctuation, or *vowel-points*; which had been invented before, or during, their time; and had been inserted in a few copies of the Heb. text. And this last review, be the nature of it more or less important, seems to have been made about the year 1000.

If the 5 reviews beforemention'd succeed each other in chronological order; 'tis probable, that the MASORETS (so much talk'd of) liv'd between the time of the 3d and of the 5th of these reviews. Not that all the critics, so call'd, are here suppos'd to have liv'd at one time; but in several different ages: see p. 270. But, as there had been a set of men, who out of a variety of traditions compos'd the Mishnah; so there might afterwards be another set

of men, who particularly collected such traditions, as respected the Heb. text: extracting also from the Talmud, what was there recorded, in relation to words and letters; and adding other remarks of their own. The men, who committed to writing the few traditions on this particular subject, were call'd *Masorets*: and to the Masora, thus compos'd, many additions were probably made, from time to time, for ages after. The Masorets then, properly so call'd, seem to have liv'd about the year 800. *Probably not sooner*; because Aben Ezra, who liv'd near 600 years ago, says (see p. 271) that, after the authors of the Mishnah, came the authors of the Gemara; after whom, came the authors of the Masora; and after them, the authors of the punctuation. And *probably not later*; because the Masora does not mention the 216 variations of the Occidental and Oriental copies; the catalogue of which was probably made about the middle of the 9th century.

In the year 942 died *R. Saadiah*, call'd *Gaon* (i. e. *the illustrious*) who presided over the Babylonian schools. For, the Jews enjoy'd the privilege of schools, in several parts of Babylon, till the year 1040; when, being driven from thence by the victorious Arabians, they fled

fled into different parts of Europe, particularly Spain. Masclef says, that Saadiah was the first person, that attempted any thing, in the nature of an *Heb. Grammar*; which materials R. Juda Chiug, about 130 years after, methodically digested into a regular system.¹ Saadiah seems to have contributed his part towards the Masora; for Leusden tells us, that Saadiah enumerated all the Hebrew letters in the old Testament, and express'd their several numbers in an Heb. poem.² But the chief merit of this learned and laborious Rabbi is, that he translated all the old Testament from the Hebrew into *Arabic*; expressing the Arabic in Heb. characters.³

But then, tho' the whole Heb. Bible was thus translated by him; yet *the Pentateuch* only has been, as yet, publish'd from his version. The other books, now in Arabic, in the Paris and Lond. Polyglotts, were translated at different times by different authors; partly from the Greek, and partly from the Syriac versions: and but few parts, if any (excepting the Pentateuch) were translated from the

¹ *Novæ Grammaticæ Argumenta*; p. 30, 31.

² *Philolog. Heb. Dissertat.* 22, 7, 8.

³ Walton's *Prolegomena*; 14, 15.

Heb. text. * Where this Arab. version has been translated from the Hebrew, there it will assist in detecting some corruptions crept into the Heb. text since; and where it was made from the ancient versions, there it will assist in establishing the true readings of those versions.

As this Arab. version is the latest of all the ancient versions of the old Testament; we may stop for a moment, and look back upon these several versions, thus assembled from different quarters of the world, and from very distant ages; all uniting in one holy confederacy, for *the illustration and correction of the present volume of the old Testament*. Let us survey the sacred Text, attended with its venerable train of Versions; as they present themselves in the following table: adding also such other assistances, as tend to establish the true reading and true sense of the Original Hebrew.

- 1 The Hebrew Text of the Old Testamt.
- 2 The Samar. Text of the Pentateuch.
- 3 Parallel Passages in the Text itself.
- 4 The Samar. Version of the Pentateuch.
- 5 The Greek Version, call'd the LXX.
- 6 The Chaldee Paraphrases.

* See Pocock's remarks, prefix'd to the various readings of the Arab. Pentateuchs, in Walton's Polyglott; tom. 6.

FOURTH PERIOD. 455

- 7 The Quotations in the New Testamt.
- 8 The Syriac Version.
- 9 The old Italic Version.
- 10 The Latin Version of St. Jerom.
- 11 The Arabic Version.

12 The Quotations,
made from the Heb. Text or ancient Versions,
by the Jews, Philo, Josephus &c.
or by the Greek and Latin Christian Fathers,
to the end of this *fourth* Period.

PERIOD V.

From B. Asher and B. Naphtali, 1000,
To the Invention of Printing, 1457.

About the beginning of this period, learning began to flourish among the Jews; and, with learning, the study of their sacred Scriptures. And about the middle of the 12th century liv'd the 4 men, who did so much honour to the Jewish nation --- MAIMONIDES, JARCHI, ABEN EZRA and KIMCHI. That the attention of the learned Jews now eminently reverted from the Talmud to the Bible, is thus asserted by Buxtorf --- *Diuturnum fuit doctorum virorum silentium, propter gravissimas calamitates exilii.* Paulo post an. 1000, studia literarum renasci inter ipsos cœperunt, & sapientes

entes ipsorum publice inclarescere. --- Ab anno 1000 plerique libri Judæorum prodire cæperunt. Qui antea fuerunt (quorum pauci) non Bibliis, sed traditionibus Talmudicis explicandis, præcipue occupati fuerunt. De Abbrev. Heb. p. 294.

It seems necessary here to enquire into the opinions of the 4 great Rabbies, just before mention'd; as to the perfection or corruption of the Hebrew text. It has been already observ'd of JARCHI; that he speaks of some copies being *more correct* than others; that he frequently *contradicts the Masora*; that he *agrees with the Talmud* in some readings, which are *contrary* to (what were call'd) *the more correct* copies; and that he (as Saadiah had done before him) has noted several *Keri and Cetib*, which are not to be found in any books of the Masora: see pag. 238, 239, 240. It has been already observ'd of ABEN EZRA; that he thought a word to be wanting in 2 Sam. 13, 39; and also in 1 Sam. 24, 11: that he tells us of some Jews, who said that **ל** *non* was wanting in *two* places; and that some Grammarian pronounc'd above an *hundred* words to want alteration: see pag. 259, 260.

As to KIMCHI, who was the latest of the Four; it has been observ'd (pag. 232) that he assures us, *there were differences in the old Heb.*

Heb. MSS; and that, where the copies differ'd, the rule with the ancient Jews was, to *follow the greater number*. It has been observ'd also (p. 253) that *the quotations* of Kimchi from the Heb. text were, in some instances, *differ from the readings in the printed copies*. It must be now observ'd, as to MAIMONIDES; that he says, There was kept at *Jerusalem* for many years, and afterwards in *Egypt*, the famous MS of the Heb. Bible written by *B. Asher*; to which the Jews applied for the correction and regulation of ALL their sacred MSS: and it was consulted also by Maimonides himself. Walton gives us the following, as the words of Maimonides on this subject --- *Liber, cui innixi sumus in rebus istis, est liber celeberrimus per Ægyptum, qui a plurimis annis erat Hierosolymis, ut ex eo corrigerentur libri. Huic autem omnes innitebantur; eo quod, cum eum correxisset B. Asher, & multos annos diligentem in eo operam navasset, & sæpius eum recensuisset: istum librum secutus sum & ego in libro Legis, quem descripsi juxta ejus formam*. And Walton himself speaks of B. Asher's copy, as that, *ad cujus normam conformantur omnia Bibliorum exemplaria impressa*. Prolegom. 4, 9.

But, tho' Maimonides thus asserts, that all men depended on B. Asher's MS, and correct-
ed

ed their copies by it; yet, as the present MSS differ in a multitude of instances, it must be allow'd --- either, that there were other standard copies, by which MSS were corrected likewise --- or that some of the MSS, now extant, differ greatly from B. Asher's, because they differ greatly from one another. The truth seems to be, that there were other MSS, deriving great fame from the learning and authority of the persons writing or correcting them; which therefore were also recommended for standard copies, in different parts of the world, and in different ages. *Ante artem typographicam publice prostabat in unaquaque provincia, in qua synagogæ plures erant, liber quidam punctatus totius scripturæ, multorum Rabbinorum judicio correctissime scriptus; ad quem, velut ad lapidem Lydium, cæteri Judæi libros privatos examinabant. Liber Asher, præ cæteris celebris, publice Hierosolymis exponebatur; ad quem R. Moses Ægyptius librum proprium correxit. Inter Hispanicos antiquissimus codex Hillelianus --- & sæpe in rebus dubiis, quæ spectant LITERAS &c. ad marginem MStorum adnotatur, Ita scribi in cod. Hilleliano. Hunc consuluit Kimchi; & testantur R. Ab. Zacuth & Da. Gans, quod ex eo correxerunt omnes libros.* Morinus, De Text. &c. p. 466, 467.

Walton

Walton, speaking of this celebrated R. Hillel, makes some very pertinent remarks in the words following --- *Cum plures fuerint Hilleles; disputant, quisnam fuerit iste, qui librum hunc exquisitum scripsit. --- Alii dicunt, fuisse quendam Hillelem recentiorem (quam an. 340) in Hispania; ad cuius exemplar Hispani Judæi libros suos abhinc 500 annis emendare solebant. --- Restat itaque, librum hunc fuisse recentioris cujusdam Hillelis, qui post B. Asher & B. Naphthali vixit; & fortasse Hispani illius. Meminit Ramban (an. 1200) libri Hilleliani. Et Morinus describit MS Heb. (scriptum an. Christi 1208) ubi duo illi versus Jos. 21. 36, 37, primum scripti fuerant: sed postea erasi sunt, hac nota in margine addita, Non invenimus illos duos versus in Hillelianis. Ratio etiam probabilis reddi potest, cur non habeamus codices Hebræos ita antiquos, ut Græcos quosdam veteris ac novi Testamenti: quia post Masoretarum criticam & punctationem, ab omnibus receptam, Judæorum magistri omnes codices, his non conformes, ut prophanos & illegitimos, DAMNARUNT: unde post pauca secula, omnibus juxta Masoretarum exemplaria descriptis, RELIQUI REJECTI ET ABOLITI. Hinc est, quod pauca habemus exemplaria Hebraica 600 annorum --- exemplaria annorum 700 vel 800 sunt rarissima. Proleg. 4, 8.*

As the state of the present Heb. text greatly depends upon this *fifth* period; it is necessary to attend to these two points --- that the Jews did correct their MSS by some famous copies --- and that the Heb. MSS, now extant, abound in corrections of this nature. These material circumstances are well stated by Capellanus; and therefore from him I shall quote the words following --- *Scimus quidem famosa diversis temporibus fuisse quædam Bibliorum exemplaria apud Judæos, ex quibus cætera corrigerent. Sic apud Ephodæum & B. Chaim fit mentio libri תאנין (coronamentorum) quem hodiernis exemplaribus præferre non dubitant. Sic de codicibus Ægyptio, Babylonio, Hierosolymitano, quibus multum autoritatis deferebant; ex fama incerta, quod correcti fuissent a celebribus Rabinis B. Asher aut B. Nephthali. Sic de Hilleliano codice, qui propius ad nos pertinere videtur, a quo hodierni nostri fortasse manarunt. In libro Juchasin sic habetur. In anno 956 [an. 1196] fuit persecutio magna in regno Leon (in Hispania) tuncque eduxerunt inde codicem (הביבליא Biblia) quem scripserat R. Hillel, ex quo corripiebant omnia exemplaria. Et ipse ejus partem vidi, divenditam in Africa; meo autem tempore erant 900 anni, ex quo scriptus*

tus fuerat : Kimchi ait Pentateuchum illius codicis esse Toleti. *Hæc A. Zachut, autor Juchasin. Ex quibus infero, quantamcunque Judæi adhibeant diligentiam in exscribendis suis codicibus (ut multi prædicant) non ita tamen fuisse certa, & ab omni suspitione mendorum aliena, eorum exemplaria (tam privata quam publica) ut nullis erroribus aut varietatibus obnoxia haberentur. Siquidem, ut testantur Ab. Zachut & Dav. Ganz, ad illud Hillelianum cætera OMNIA corrigebant. Nec proinde etiam tantopere miram esse Bibliorum hodiernorum inter se conformitatem, quasi singularem & miraculorum divinæ providentiæ effectum; ad quem Judæi, longe lateque diffusi, conspirare non potuerint. Nam, præterquam quod plurimis, ut dixi, adhuc subjacent varietatibus, non obstantibus illis correctionibus, & Masoreticis literarum supputationibus; ejusmodi exemplis patet, non semel convenisse Judæos & conspirasse, ut ad unum idemque exemplar cætera omnia conformarentur. — At quibus argumentis constare potest de codicis Hilleliani autoritate tanta, ut omnibus præponderare debuerit; atque etiam a nobis præferri illis vetustioribus, ex quibus expressæ sunt VERSIONES ANTIQUIORES? Quis ita Judæis addictus, ut tam facile crediderit eos nec falli, nec fallere potuisse, in hoc casu? Quis*

certus esse possit codicem hunc, quem ferebant a
900 annis scriptum fuisse, omnibus potiore esse;
& utrum illâ ad illum conformatione cæteri re-
vera corrigerentur, non vero corrumperebuntur?
Quis nescit, quam variis sæpe conjecturis multi
multa falso comminiscantur de rebus, quæ homi-
num memoriam superant? Quanto magis apud
Judæos (gentem fabularum credulam) quos ne-
mo nescit quibus vicissitudinibus obnoxii semper
fuerint; quamque difficile fuerit, per tot casus &
discrimina rerum, certam de hoc codice memo-
riam retinuisse? --- Sed hæc sufficiant ad osten-
dendum, quam vana fortasse opinione antiquita-
tis summæ, vel specie celeberrimi alicujus nomi-
nis delusi, corrigendis Bibliis temerarias manus
admovent Judæi. Non possum tamen omittere,
quæ in hanc rem ad me scripsit sapientissimus
R. Simon, his verbis. “Asservantur, inquit, in
“Bibliotheca nostra Parisiensi elegantissima
“Biblicorum MStorum exemplaria; quæ, quo
“numero habiti fuerint Masoretarum codices,
“aperte declarant: ab his enim tot in locis illa
“variant, ut ex eorum collatione variationum
“VOLUMEN efficere non esset arduum. Verum
“Judæi quidam recentiores, ejusmodi dissonan-
“tiarum impatientes, suis correctionibus tex-
“tum omnem depravarunt. Puncta enim vo-
“calia in illum invexere, appositis Masoreta-

rum

"rum notis; erasis, quæ sibi videbantur super-
 "fluæ, literis; ita ut loca omnia, quæ hodie-
 "nis codicibus non respondebant, virgula cen-
 "soria notata fuerint: quas quidem deprava-
 "tiones, primo conspectu, scribarum imperitiæ
 "tribui. Sed dum rem propius intueor, om-
 "nis dubitandi ratio præcisa est; locis enim
 "præsertim, quæ a MASORETARUM lectione
 "variabant, cultellus ille censorius adhibitus
 "fuerat. Et in hoc conspirant septem MSti
 "codices, qui a sciolis Judæis de industria re-
 "formati sunt, ut MASORETICIS CONFOR-
 "MARENTUR. Nec illos fuisse plebeiorum
 "hominum, elegantissimi eorum characteres
 "prorsus evincunt. Unius præsertim elegan-
 "tiam ne quidem imitantur Regia & Rob.
 "Stephani Biblia. Hic in usum Theodori Le-
 "vitæ, Judæorum in exilio PRINCIPIS, a Ju-
 "dæo quodam SACERDOTE, ab annis ferme
 "500 [circ. 1170] perquam accurate descrip-
 "tus fuit, ex vetustissimis codicibus; postha-
 "bitis Masoretarum exemplaribus; quæ satis
 "arguunt, Masoram non magni factam fuisse
 "a veteribus. Nec video, cur hodie pluris fiat
 "a Christianis. Eorum, qui Bibliis edendis
 "hactenus præfuere, rationem probare nequeo;
 "qui Masoretarum artem, non secus ac si præ-
 "ceptiones illius divinæ fuissent, suspiciunt;
 "ac

“ac superstitionum Judaicarum fautores textum
 “Biblicum misere depravant.” *Hæc de expensis
 a se codicibus MStis admonere me voluit vir eru-
 ditissimus, quæ apprime faciunt ad rem præsen-
 tem; ut probetur, ne JUDÆOS quidem ipsos cre-
 dere libros ab omnibus mendis ita immunes, quin
 illos quandoque audeant, corrigendi studio, etiam
 corrumpere.* Pag. 262 &c.

The preceding quotation is very long; but then it is very curious, and tends to establish points of essential consequence in the present enquiry. Now, that the famous MSS, set forth as *standard copies*, were not all of them perfect, is evident from that most famous MS of R. Hillel. Perhaps the writer of it might be the very Hillel, who was extoll'd in such sublimated nonsense, that the Jews held --- his merits could not be display'd fully, *if all the heavens were parchment, and all the seas were ink* &c. Should no less a man than this have wrote the Hillel-MS; yet, may not that MS be still presum'd to contain many corruptions in *words and letters*; when, in one place, it omits TWO WHOLE VERSES, which are most manifestly genuine? See p. 459. And as to the other standard copies, if they likewise were greatly corrupted; then the more exactly they were follow'd, and the more implicit that obe-
 dience

dience which was paid to their authority; so much the worse must be all such MSS, as were thus copied from, or corrected by them.

'Tis certain, that *almost all* the Heb. MSS of the old Testament, which are known at present, were written within this *fifth* period, between the years 1000 and 1457: which makes it probable, that all the MSS, written before the years 700, or 800, were destroy'd by some decree of the Jewish Senate (see p. 459) on account of their many differences from the copies *then declar'd genuine*. 'Tis certain also, notwithstanding some standard copies have been held forth for universal imitation, as Nebuchadnezzar's golden image was set up to be worshipp'd by men of all nations and languages; and tho' the imitation in the former case was too general, as the idolatry in the latter was almost universal: yet, as there were Jews, who refus'd to worship the image, in defiance of the fiery furnace; so have there been Jews, who have ventur'd to reinstate many true readings, which had been expell'd by the rulers of their synagogues. And there have been a few honourable scribes, who, notwithstanding the authority of Hillel's MS, have refus'd to omit the two verses, *Josb. 21; 36, 37* --- which verses, as they have been omitted

ted so generally, and yet are so clearly necessary, were probably declar'd *spurious* by some absurd act of the Jewish Senate, and prohibited under pains and penalties. See p. 445.

F. Simon (as we have seen, in page 462) declar'd, that the various readings in the Heb. MSS at Paris would make *a volume*. And at the same time he complains, with the strictest justice, of the numerous rasures and alterations made in the oldest and best of the MSS; in order to reduce them to a conformity to those copies, which the later Jews generally adopted, and dignified with the title of MASORETICAL. The same just complaint is made by F. Houbigant, in these words --- *Quæ quidem misera conditio omnium omnino codicum fuit, qui ante annos fere sexcentos fuerunt descripti; in quibus ego scriptiones priori manu factas posterioribus meliores sæpe deprehendi; quoniam vetustiores ad recentiorum normam exigebantur, Judæorumque MASORÆ devotorum inscitia & superstitione inurebantur.* Proleg. p. 105.

That there are various readings in the Heb. MSS, and that *the latest MSS are the most corrupted*, are points thus asserted by Walton --- *De causa, unde fluxerunt variantes lectiones, non multum laborandum; cum certum sit, eas a scriptoribus sacris oriri non posse. Errores ab*
iis

ius, qui exemplaria descripserunt, & non satis accurate cum codice originario contulerunt, fluxere primo; a quibus alii alia describentes, errores eorum propagarunt; qui (non extantibus codicibus originariis, unde corrigi poterant) in plures derivati sunt. Sic ab uno codice multa millia propagari possunt; & quo plures codices descripti, & quo longius a prototypis distant, eo PLURES MENDAS contrahere proclive est. Notandum etiam, ex linguæ Hebrææ genio proclivem esse scribarum errorem; tum ob literarum quarundam similitudinem, quas difficile est distinguere (præsertim cum libri minutis characteribus olim descripti fuerint) tum ob soni in aliis affinitatem; ut & per literarum transpositionem. Scribæ vero error interdum ex oscitantia, vel non satis attenta ectypi cum archetypo collatione, oritur; sæpe ex audacia, cum in margine notata in textum inserit; vel, MENDAM SUSPICANS UBI NULLA EST, SUB SPECIE CORRIGENDI TEXTUM, CORRUMPIT. Proleg. 6, 7.

From the preceding authorities we may now infer; that the Jewish transcribers have been subject to error, not only as much, but more than the transcribers of books in other languages; that the Heb. MSS varied, in many places, about the year 1000; that the Jews having been, from the year 1000 to 1457,

employ'd diligently about their sacred Scriptures, we cannot doubt but they transcrib'd a great multitude of copies; and that, as every MS would contain some new mistakes, the more MSS there were written, the greater would be the number of corruptions; and therefore the latest MSS would probably be the worst. It appears also from the preceding testimonies; that the Heb. MSS, written about the years 1100 or 1200, were in fact much better than the later; because they are found free from many of the errors introduc'd afterwards. It appears farther; that, about the years 1300 or 1400, the Jews had establish'd some sort of general standard, which they call'd *the Masora*; and that whatever copies were written thus lately agreed most remarkably in several corruptions before unknown. And we find it expressly asserted, that many of the older MSS have suffer'd greatly from the hands of those, who, under the notion of correcting, have corrupted them; having alter'd letters, words and sentences, in blind obedience to Masoretic authority.

The positions thus advanc'd by the learned writers beforemention'd seem to express a very just state of things, during this *fifth* period. For, after an examination of above *One*

Hundred

Hundred Heb. MSS, I am firmly convinc'd --- that the older such Heb. MSS are, the less they are corrupted; and that the latest MSS are (in general) the worst --- that a multitude of readings, which were true and genuine, have been eras'd, or mark'd as errors, in the older MSS --- and, that the rule made use of, for correcting in this strange manner, was *the Masora*; a work, form'd partly upon *very late* copies, and partly upon copies, if older, *very much corrupted*. For this rule commands חסידך *thy holy one* to be written חסידים *thy saints*; when the latter word is so glaring a corruption, and is even now (after all that has happen'd to the text) found only in a few of the latest MSS. See pag. 108, 346. The same rule (amongst other interpolations thereby establish'd) commands the *spurious* word יהודה *Judah* to be receiv'd as *genuine*, tho' it evidently makes nonsense, in 1 Chron. 6, 57. See Dissertat. p. 484, 553. And as this rule authorizes corruptions in *letters*, and in *words*, so in whole *sentences*; for *the two genuine verses in Joshua*, which the Masora rejects as *spurious*, must never be forgotten. See p. 331.

The result of the whole is this: that the Heb. MSS were at last (in the 14th and 15th centuries) reduc'd, by Masoretic regimen, to

almost an absolute uniformity in their various depravations; and that Heb. MSS are now the more pure, and therefore the more valuable, in proportion as they are more ancient, and as they recede farther and farther from the last stage of their corruption. Here then, at the conclusion of the age of MSS, and at our entrance upon the age of Printing, it must be observ'd most carefully, as a matter of the utmost consequence in the present enquiry --- that, *if the Heb. Bible has been printed from very late MSS, or (which amounts to the same) from MSS corrected down to the modern Masoretic standard; such text, so printed, must be far remov'd from its original integrity. That THIS IS FACT, I humbly apprehend to be clearly demonstrable; since our printed editions agree almost universally with one another, and agree uniformly with the latest and worst MSS.*

P E R I O D VI.

From the Invention of Printing, 1457;
To the present Time.

The learned Father Houbigant accounts for the agreement of the printed Heb. Bibles, by saying, that *all the succeeding editions were taken*

ken from the first; and that the first Heb. Bible was printed by R. Jacob Ben Chaim, whose text was follow'd by Felix Pratensis, and the other editors. *Prolegom.* p. 94 --- 96. But if I observe, that this account does not seem perfectly accurate; I presume it will be excus'd by One, whom I honour as an author, and respect as a friend. The first edition by R. Jac. B. Chaim was printed at Venice, and dated 'רס"ו 286 i.e. in the Christian Æra 1526, or 1528; * and therefore this edition was subsequent to that of Felix Pratensis, which was publish'd at Venice in 1518 --- the dedication is dated in 1517.

As it may be a matter both of consequence and of curiosity, to know the very first printed edition of the Heb. Bible; I shall offer a few farther observations on this subject. That there was an edition of at least *a part* of the Heb. Bible, long before that of Felix Pratensis, is evident from a printed copy of the *Cethubim* or *Hagiographa*. This very curious edition is printed on vellum, in 2 folio volumes; and has many words different from all the Heb. copies printed afterwards. But, having given

* The Jews omit the *thousand*, and generally reckon 240 years less than the Christians: but there are some few, who make the difference to be 242 years.

an account of this singular copy, in my *Dissertat.* p. 520; I shall only add here, that Dr. Pellet, who presented it to Eton College library, has wrote in it --- *Impressus est Neapoli, 1487; i. e. anno uno ante impressionem, quam fieri curaverunt Judæi Soncinales.* The edition, here said to be printed at Soncinum, is mention'd by Le Long (*Biblioth. sacra*) who says, it was printed by *Abraham* the son of Rabbi Hhaim i. e. Chaim. But then, tho' this at Soncinum, in 1488, seems to be the first edition of the *whole* Heb. Bible; yet the preceding copy of the *Cethubim* was printed at Naples, in 1487. And yet, *that part* also is exceeded in antiquity by an edition of the *prior Prophets*, which Le Long says was printed at Soncinum, in 1486. This edition contain'd the *posterior* Prophets also, according to Wolfius (*Biblioth. Heb.* 2, 397) so that it seems to have made a *first*, or a *second* part to Dr. Pellet's, which is regularly the *third*.

The copy then, printed the most early of those I have yet seen, is this given by Dr. Pellet; which contains many readings different from all the other printed copies, and *contrary to the Masora*. The last is probably one of the reasons, for which the whole edition may have been destroy'd --- excepting this copy, which

which had the singular good fortune to escape the flames : for Dr. Pellet says, *Hoc exemplar unicum, & flammis ereptum, uti par est credere.*

It must be observ'd, that tho' Le Long could not trace any one copy of this edition ; yet it is mention'd by Wolfius, in his *Bibliotheca Hebræa*. In tom. 2, p. 401 ; he mentions the 2d volume of this copy, which contains all the Cethubim excepting the Psalms. In tom. 3, p. 881, 882 ; after mentioning again the 2d volume, he says --- *Vidi etiam Psalmos uno volumine, in eadem forma, eodem anno, Neapoli editos ; qui partem primam hujus collectionis constituisse videntur. Eandem editionem, in membrana expressam, vidi in Bibliotheca Gustavi Schræderi, pastoris quondam Gluckstadiensis.* And in tom. 4, p. 141 ; he says ---- *In exemplari Schræderi titulum frustra quæsi, quem nec forte (ex more antiquissimarum quarumque editionum) unquam habuit.* These circumstances of its being printed on vellum, and having no title, exactly agree with Dr. Pellet's copy : and perhaps *this* may be the very copy, which formerly belong'd to Schræder.

Le Long and Wolfius both affirm, that they saw an Heb. Bible, in 8° printed at *Brescia*, in 1494 : concerning which Wolfius says (tom. 2, p. 365) --- *eam adhibuit Opitius, qui eam sic satis*

satis accuratam pronunciat; & experientia edoc-tus refert, ejus lectionem secutas esse editiones fere omnes, quotquot eam a R. Chaim correctam præcesserint. Of this edition I shall take some farther notice hereafter.

We may now proceed to the celebrated edition of Bomberg at Venice, printed under the direction of *Felix Pratenfis*: who (as Hody says, p. 461) was *ex Judæo Monachus*. 'Tis not known from what particular MSS the Heb. text of this edition was taken; but 'tis certain, that it agrees most with *very late MSS*, and such as were *corrected* according to the Masora. 'Tis remarkable, that the editor, in his dedication to Pope Leo, complains of the very corrupt state of the Heb. MSS; and talks of having collated, and *corrected* (I presume, Masoretically) many MSS, which were us'd for this edition --- *Multi antea manuscripti circumferebantur; sed adeo nitore suo privati, ut par fere mendarum numerus dictiones ipsas consequeretur --- plurimis collatis exemplaribus, hosce libros, studio nostro fide & diligentia CASTIGATOS, imprimendos curavit Bombergus.*

At the same time, that this edition of the Heb. Bible was preparing at Venice, another edition of equal fame was preparing by Card. Ximenes at Complutum in Spain; and as these

two capital editions were thus in the press at once, neither of them could be printed from the other. But, tho' they should have been both printed, not from any previously printed copy, but directly from MSS; yet, as they were both printed by men who were, or had been Jews,* from such MSS as were uniformly corrected by the same Masora; they would exhibit almost universally the same text. And that the Heb. MSS, here made use of, had suffer'd this Masoretical castigation, is plain from the words of Ximenes in his dedication to Pope Leo --- *maximam laboris nostri partem in eo præcipue fuisse versatam, ut CASTIGATISSIMA omni ex parte vetustissimæ exemplaria pro archetypis haberemus*. This famous Bible was begun in 1502, and finish'd in 1517; but not publish'd till 1522.

The Bomberg edition, publish'd by the celebrated R. Jacob B. Chaim, was printed in

* That the men, who had the care of the Heb. text in this edition, had been Jews; is thus asserted by Le Long — *Alphonsus medicus Complutensis, Paulus Coronellus, & Alphonsus Zamora, Hebræarum rerum consultiissimi; hi tres ex Judæis Christiani facti fuerant*. See Wolfius, tom. 2, p. 339. And in the Letter sent to the late Sir Benjamin Keene (as mention'd, p. 358) Dr. Ma-jansius speaks of these correctors in the same manner. — *Hebræarum rerum consultiissimos; qui cum olim inter suos publicas scholas fuissent moderati, tunc Christianæ ecclesiæ alumni erant*.

1526, or 1528. Concerning this editor, and his work, F. Houbigant says --- *Testis est ipse B. Chaim, non fuisse se optimorum codicum editorem. Nam cum is multum conqueratur, quod in suis codicibus Masora variis animalium figuris deformata esset; eo ipso declarat, codices suos fuisse omnium recentissimos.* Proleg. p. 95. And no one, who has consider'd the preface of this editor (printed here, at p. 229 &c) can possibly doubt, Whether he did not publish according to the copies most exactly corrected by that Masora, which he reverenc'd so profoundly. In 1549 was publish'd the second edition of B. Chaim's Bible, with *the famous Preface* at the beginning: and of this edition Le Long says --- *præstantissima est & omnium optima, JUXTA QUAM præsertim sequentes prodierunt.* Wolfius gives it exactly the same character: but says, that Conrade Zeltner blames B. Chaim for being so excessively devoted to the Masora; *idque ex eo evincit, quod celebratos illos versiculos Josuæ, in Masoræ gratiam, exulare præter rem ex codice sacro jusserit.* Tom. 2, p. 371.

In 1572, was publish'd *the Royal or Spanish Polyglott*, in 8 folio volumes, printed at *Antwerp*; principally under the direction of Arias Montanus. We need say the less here of this
great

great work ; as it is not pretended, that the least *correction* was made in this edition of the Heb. Text. Indeed no such thing could possibly be expected from an editor, who believ'd the perfection of the Heb. Text --- *quanta integritate* (says he) *semper conservata fuerint Biblia Hebræa, plerique doctissimi viri constanter asseverarunt* : &c. Hody, p. 516, 517.

In 1619, the 5th edition of B. Chaim's *Rabbinical Bible* (as it was call'd) was publish'd by *Buxtorf*; in which the Heb. Text was copied exactly from B. Chaim's 2d edition.

In 1635, an edition was publish'd by the famous Jew *Manasseh B. Israel*; who tells us in the preface ---- that he had alter'd a few letters; and, where the most corrected copies differ'd, he took refuge in Grammar rules and the *Masora*.

In 1641, was publish'd, in 10 folio volumes, *The Paris Polyglott*. A work ! far surpassing every former edition of the Bible : a work, so truly magnificent and extensively useful, that it would have been universally stil'd *the wonder of that age* --- had not its glory been in some measure eclips'd by another Polyglott, which soon succeeded it. This Paris edition, tho' it claims no merit from correcting the Heb. Text, will ever be honour'd by men of true

learning, for publishing (besides the *Syriac* and *Arab.* Versions) the first edition of *The Samar. Pentateuch* and *its Version* --- printed from MSS brought into Europe between the years 1620 and 1630, and publish'd by the very learned MORINUS: to whom the world is also indebted for many excellent remarks on *The Heb. Text*, as well as on *The Samar. Pentateuch*.

About the same time there shone forth in the Republic of letters another Genius, equal if not superior in lustre to that of Morinus; undauntedly pursuing with the same industry, in defiance of all exterior discouragements, a true and rational defence of the Original Heb. Text, by pointing out critically the various corruptions of the modern copies of it. The learned reader knows this to be LUDOVICUS CAPPELLUS; the first man, who ventur'd to compose a regular work of criticism upon *the printed Heb. Text*. This learned work, which was 36 years in composing, and was refus'd admission to the press by the prohibitory principles of foreign Protestants, was (after ten years fruitless application for an *Imprimatur*) elegantly printed at Paris for the Protestant father by his son, who was of the church of Rome. But the son thought it his duty to in-

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sert some *words*, and omit some *very long passages*, in defiance of his father's authority, out of zeal for his holy mother the church: a sort of treatment, which the author justly complains of; when he inserts the rejected passages, in his valuable letter to Usher, printed in 4°. 1651.

The *Critica Sacra* of Cappellus was publish'd, in 1650, about 8 years before his death, and about 40 years after he left *Exeter College*; in which place he studied for many years. And this immortal work (however accompanied with some marks of human imperfection) has contributed so greatly towards the removal of inveterate prejudices, and has so eminently assisted men in discovering the real state of the printed Heb. Text; that I shall close its character with the two following quotations. Vossius (*De LXX*, p. 249) says --- *Bene, si quisquam, de Scripturis divinis meritus est L. Cappellus, in præclaro opere de Critica Sacra; qua non tantum nævos & lacunas Hebraici textus plurimas ostendit, sed & multiplicem medicinam, quæ, cum aliunde, tum præcipue ex LXX translatione, parari possit. Non me fugit, quid de hoc libro sentiant Judæi, & qui illis favent: verum his auctor sim, ut diligentius legant Cappellum; & quidem eo usque, donec*

donec discussâ ingenii nebulâ lumini adsuescant, ac agnoscant se in sole cæcutiisse. And Grotius, in an epistle to the author, says thus --- *In Sacra Critica nescio magisne indefessam sedulitatem mirari debeam, an uberrimam eruditionem, an judicium limatissimum: quæ tres laudes in hoc opere ita inter se certant, ut in ambiguo maneat, cui de tribus prima palma debeatur* --- *Omnibus placere nemini datum est* ---- *Contentus esto magnis potius quam multis laudatoribus.*

In 1657, was publish'd THE LONDON POLYGLOTT, under the direction of the very learned BRIAN WALTON; the immense merit of whose work is too well known, to want any labour'd recommendation. And yet; it must be observ'd, that even in *This*, the best and most useful of all editions, the Heb. Text is printed *Masoretically*; almost in an absolute agreement with the many former editions, and with the latest and worst MSS. For tho' the editor has shewn clearly, that the Jewish transcribers have made many mistakes, and that the MSS have many true readings, where the printed Text is erroneous; and tho' he speaks (*Proleg.* 4, 12) of having *supplied some things*, which were not in the *Venice* or *Basil* editions; yet I humbly presume, that the only supplement, which he has made, is --- restoring

ring the two verses in *Joshua*, which had been arbitrarily expell'd by Masoretic authority.

In 1661, Athias with many other Jews publish'd an edition; which, notwithstanding the pretence of its being corrected by them according to ancient MSS, is certainly (so far as words and letters are concern'd) agreeable only to the latest; as the other printed copies were before it. A third edition of this Bible was, in 1667, publish'd by Leusden; who tells the reader --- *Tibi damus Biblia, impressa per Athiam, quibus correctiora nunquam sol aspexit*. And yet, tho' the sun never saw so much implicit obedience paid to the Masora before; the Rabbins assure us, in their prefatory recommendation, that *some whole words* were here corrected *ex Masora & a Masoreticis, qui sepem legis fecerunt*. This supremely-Masoretical edition appear'd to their High Mightinesses, the States General, so particularly meritorious, that Athias, the typographer, was presented with a chain of gold, and a gold medal pendant. But, was it not an act of superabundant goodness? thus to reward a Jew for an edition, in which John Leusden (tho' a Christian) confesses, that *he permitted* the Latin contents, here added in the margin, to explain away some of the prophecies relating to the Messiah!

Messiah! See Le Long, *in locum*. 'Tis also observable, that Leusden founded forth the praise of the former edition, as taken from most accurate and most ancient MSS; MSS, richly ornamented by the Masora in the shape of *Bears, Dogs and Tigers*: but *that* very strange recommendation was dropp'd in this edition, after being well *ridicul'd* by Father Simon. *Houbigañt's Proleg.* p. 95..

In 1699, was publish'd, in 4°. at Berlin, the edition of *Daniel Ernest Jablonski*; and it was reserv'd for this man of eminent learning, to lay the regular foundation for a reformation of the printed Heb. Text. This he has done in the preface, by making several excellent observations on the nature of the present Heb. MSS; with the proper marks of their antiquity, and the great advantages to be deriv'd from them. That the Jewish transcribers have made multitudes of mistakes, he shews satisfactorily. That the Keri are truly various readings, arising from the mistakes of transcribers, he proves clearly. That the older MSS have the Keri in the text, but the later in the margin; and consequently that the Masora, which considers the Keri as in the margin, must be founded on the later copies: these points he sets forth fully. That one of the Heb. MSS

at Berlin contains some thousands of various readings, and that the other old Heb. MSS have numerous differences from the printed text, he affirms expressly. And, that these old MSS have suffer'd many alterations from the late correcting Masorets, he proves indisputably. Lastly; he sets forth the possibility of procuring (as soon as there shall be Z E A enough to prompt the men of eminence in Europe to attempt procuring) very ancient Heb. MSS from such of the Jews, as have been settled for many ages in *China, Æthiopia, Constantinople, Thessalonica*, and other distant parts of the world --- *quorum codicum nonnulli, in Europæorum usum, ut acquirantur; nulli vel LABORI vel SUMPTUI parcendum esse, mecum affirmabunt qui, quantopere philologia sacra hinc illustrari possit, secum reputaverint.* This then is the first author; who, after proclaiming the actual existence of many various readings in the Heb. MSS, has recommended both an accurate examination of those MSS now known, and a diligent search after others (at present unknown) thro' the several quarters of the world: and to HIM therefore must be given the honour of having plann'd the noble scheme, for correcting the many corruptions in the printed Heb. Text of the old Testament. And

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yet; as he knew the force of prejudice to be very strong, and what a storm might burst upon the head of that man, who should first venture upon *the actual correction* of any material corruption; it appear'd (it seems) prudential not to practise what was thus bravely recommended: and therefore, he republish'd the Heb. Text almost the same as it was adjusted Masoretically, in Leusden's edition of 1677

— — *Videns meliora, probansque;*

Deteriora sequens!

This editor speaks, indeed, of his having corrected some mistakes; but then, these corrections seem to have been confin'd entirely, or nearly so, to *the vowel-points and accents*. But, to speak freely: there are so many perplexing difficulties, in settling the different stations of these accents, dignified with the pompous titles of *Emperor, Kings and Ministers*; the invention of them is so very modern; the authority of them therefore is so very little; and the direction given by them must be so very frequently erroneous; that I feel a real concern, when I find that Writers, who are so capable of rational and manly criticism, can descend to such solemn trifling; and spend their valuable time, in labouring to be expert at these truly *difficiles nugæ*! As to the preceding

ceding remark, that scarce any corrections seem to be made in the *letters* and *words* of this edition; this may be presum'd --- partly, because no such are specified in the preface --- and partly, because the famous word for *thy holy one* is here printed *plurally*, in obedience to the Masora; and in obedience to the same authority *the two verses* are here also omitted in *Joshua*. These genuine verses are the more surprizingly omitted *here*; because they are found in all the MSS, which Jablonski made use of --- LEGUNT EOS OMNIA NOSTRA MANUSCRIPTA. The authorities, for the several things here quoted, may be found in the curious preface to this edition; in sections 10, 11, 13, 24, 27, 33, 35 --- 39.

In 1705, was publish'd *Vander Hooght's* very elegant edition; which also follow'd Leusden's last edition of *Athias*. No corrections can be expected from this editor, who consider'd every letter in his book (no matter how it came there) as absolutely genuine, and maintain'd the Masora to be infallible --- *Ego* (says he) *contextus Hebræi, ad minimum usque apicem, tenacissimus; memor istius Rabbinici*, "Si forte demeres vel abundare faceres literam, esses ac si vastares totum mundum." *Masora vere dicitur sepes legis; eo fine adornata, ne unquam*

qualiscunque tentaretur vel in minimis perversio.
Præf. sect. 2, 24.

In 1709, was publish'd an Heb. Bible by *Opitius*, who copied also from *Leusden's Athias*; but says, that he collated several MSS in Berlin and other places. But, if these MSS furnish'd ever so many true readings (and they certainly furnish'd some) yet, if these and all other MSS upon earth had agreed in any one reading against the Masora; *Opitius* would have held them all in sovereign contempt. See *Dissertat.* p. 299. *F. Houbigant* therefore says --- *Utrum Opitius novum quidquam protulit? Certe editionem Opitianam cæteris omnino similem habemus.* *Proleg.* p. 96. If then this edition was also conformable to the late MSS, as regulated by the Masora; the same Masoretic influence must have regulated the very early copy, printed at *Brescia*, in 1494: because that edition is recommended by *Opitius*. See p. 474; and *Wolf. Bib. Heb.* 2, 365.

In 1720, an Heb. Bible was publish'd at *Hall*, by the learned Professor *John Henry Michaelis*; being the first edition, which contain'd any various readings, collected from Heb. MSS by a Christian editor. The text here is taken from *Jablonski's* edition, with some few emendations: particularly, with the

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two verses very laudably inserted in *Joshua*. The spurious word יהודה *Judab* in 1 *Chro.* 6, 57 (or, the 42d verse, in some Bibles) is not in this edition; nor is it in the edition of Jablon-ski. There were collated for this Bible most of the best printed editions, and also 5 Heb. MSS belonging to the library at *Erfurth*; 2 of which contain *the verses in Joshua* excluded by the Masora. The propriety of selecting various readings from Heb. MSS, and ancient versions, is set forth in the preface; p. 14 --- 19. And the editor has inserted here and there some variations of *words and letters*; but the variations, chiefly noted, relate to the *minutiae* of criticism, consisting only in *points and accents*.

The last edition, necessary to be here mention'd, is That, which was publish'd in the latter end of the year 1753, by the learned CHARLES FRANCIS HOUBIGANT, one of the Fathers of the Oratory in Paris. This great work consists of 4 folio volumes, most elegantly printed; and it contains --- 1st; the Heb. Text, taken from Vander Hooght --- 2dly; critical notes, correcting that Text by the Samar. Pentateuch, Heb. MSS, and ancient Versions --- and 3dly; a new Latin Version, made by himself, expressive of such a
Text

Text as his critical emendations appear'd to justify and recommend. The whole work is introduc'd with general *Prolegomena*, explaining the nature and reasonableness of the design; urging also the necessity of it, from the very imperfect state of the editions before publish'd; in which nearly the same corrupt Text had been printed from time to time: and he asserts, that in all these editions *tanta incuria editum est sacrum volumen Hebraicum, quanta haud scio an ullus codex, qui fuerit typographiae luce cobonestatus*. Proleg. p. 1.

As it may be expected here, that I deliver my sentiments on the real merit of this celebrated edition; I take the liberty to say --- that it seems to proceed upon so just a plan, as to its main principles, and to be executed (in the general) with so much skill and judgment, as to claim for its worthy author the applause of all the friends of Religion and Learning. And yet, I cannot indulge my partiality, so greatly, either for the work or the author of it, as not to wish --- that he had spar'd some of his bolder criticisms, when they are unsupported by MSS, parallel places, or ancient versions; especially, where the propos'd emendations are not clearly and strongly recommended by the context.

It has been objected by some men of learning --- that *only a few select various readings are inserted in this work from the Heb. MSS; when it would have been far more agreeable and useful to the reader, to have had ALL the various readings noted after each chapter.* This indeed is indisputable. But then; when learned men consider, how very laborious a work is already executed, and what a very toilsome addition they would willingly prescribe farther: should they not consider also the shortness of human life; and reflect, *what an heavy burden they would bind upon another, when they themselves (it may be) would not touch it with one of their fingers?* Instead therefore of censuring the author for what he has not done, and perhaps at his time of life could not do; it may be nobler and more just to be thankful for what he has perform'd, and thus usefully communicated to the world.

Another objection was made to this work (before its publication) by the late Dr. Hodges, in his preface to (what he calls) *the Christian Plan*. His objection was, that Houbigant intended to alter the Heb. text, to make it conformable to the Vulgat: *his design (says he) is manifest, by his referring to the vulgate as the standard of perfection.* But surely this, of all

all censures, must have been the least dreamt of; when it was Houbigant's profess'd intention, *to set aside the Vulgat as being faulty and not answering his purpose*, and to publish a new Latin Version of his own. This censure therefore, so rashly advanc'd and so unjustly continued by this Hutchinsonian Doctor, is extremely surprizing; and one cannot help wishing --- that, if men must be planning airy systems of fanciful theology, they would not forget *moral honesty*, nor despise the plain paths of *truth and soberness*. The words at the conclusion of Houbigant's *Prolegomena*, which have been severely tortur'd upon this occasion, evidently say --- that the nature of this new Latin version was such, that it came nearer to the Vulgat, than to the modern Lat. versions ---- *quantum nos a novis Latinis interpretibus discessimus, tanto propius accessisse ad Vulgatam*. So far from idolizing the Vulgat, this writer only refers to it occasionally, as one of the ancient versions, to assist him in correcting the Heb. text; which text he attempted to reform, *principally*, by means of the Samar. Pentateuch and Heb. MSS. And therefore, as we cannot but pity the preceding censure, which is just the reverse of truth; so we cannot but applaud this son of the church of Rome,

Rome, for thus reducing *the Vulgat* within its proper sphere of use and dignity. And the learned will join with me in applauding also the moderation and the learning of *Him*, who lately adorn'd the Papal Chair with a character so very respectable; and who sent F. Houbigant *two gold medals*, in testimony of his approbation of this edition.

I shall proceed now, by the Reader's leave, to conclude the present history, with a short account of what I have myself attempted, towards pointing out some of the corruptions in the Heb. Text, and also the proper methods of correcting them. It may be observ'd here, that I have mention'd F. Houbigant's Bible antecedently to my own Dissertation, because of its connection with the other editions of the Bible; and not, because it was first publish'd. The Dissertation was publish'd here in *January*, and receiv'd by F. Houbigant at Paris in *May 1753*; and his Bible came first to England about the conclusion of the same year: the letter, in which he acquainted me with sending it, being dated *Decemb. 13, 1753*. These particulars seem necessary to be mention'd; because it has been observ'd, that several criticisms are remarkably the same in that edition and in my Dissertation.

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But here, before I speak farther of my own endeavours; it may be proper just to mention several men of very eminent learning, who have (during the present century) contributed by their excellent observations, towards the removal of that injurious prejudice, which has so long and so amazingly obtain'd, as to the perfection of the printed Heb. Text. These writers and their works I shall therefore mention, in the following chronological order.

1700. Dr. Hyde's *Religio veterum Persarum*; a new edition of which valuable book is now preparing by the Reverend and learned Mr Costard. The author has here pointed out one great corruption in the Heb. text of Num. 24, 24; and corrected it by the Samar. Pentateuch. See *cap. 2.*

1720. Dr Wells's *Specimen of an essay on the true reading of the Heb. Text*: and the preface to his commentary on the old Testament.

1721. Dr. Bentley. I insert this very celebrated Critic, in hopes of discovering the actual existence of what is mention'd (in a vindication of his proposals on the Gr. Testament, p. 35) in this manner --- a volume, in quarto, of various lections and emendations of the Heb. Text, drawn out of the ancient
ver-

- versions; which would make a 2d part to the famous Cappellus's *Critica Sacra*. See also Wolf. *Bibl. Heb.* tom. 2, p. 239.
1722. Mr Whiston's *Essay on the true Text of the old Testament*. See the preceding p. 109.
1729. Mr Hallett's *Notes on several Texts of Scripture*. See the preceding page 376.
1733. Mr Costard's *Critical Observations on some of the Psalms*: pag. 24, 25.
1734. Dr. Wall's *Crit. Notes on the old Testam.*
1736. Bp Hare's *Edition of the Psalms*.
1739. Sir I. Newton's *Chronology*. See the preceding page 337.
1738. Dr Grey's *Edition of the Proverbs*.
1742. — — — *Edition of Job*.
1743. Dr Hunt's *Dissertat. on Prov. 7; 22, 23*.
1744. Mr Mudge's *Eng. Version of the Psalms*.
1747. Mr Costard's *Observations on Job*: p. 35.
1748. — — *Astronomy of the Antients*: p. 39.
1748. Dr Robertson, on *Reading Hebrew*.
1749. Dr Grey's *Last Words of David*. At p. 23, is a Letter from the present Lord Bp of London; in which this Great Prelate approves of correcting the printed Heb. Text.
1750. Mr Costard's *Dissert. on Kesitab*: p. 19.
1752. — — *Dissert. on Ezek. 13, 18*: p. 25.
1753. Dr Lowth's *Prælectiones de Sacra Poesi*

Hebræorum. See pag. 27, 137, 175, 182, 244, 254, 266, 279, 340.

1753. Mr Green, on *The Song of Deborah*.

1755. — — — on *The Prayer of Habakkuk*.

1756. Mr Heath's *English Version of Job*.

1757. Dr Taylor's *Heb. Concordance*. Pref. f. 4.

As Mr Pilkington's *Remarks* are already mention'd (see p. 418) I shall conclude this catalogue with a book, call'd *Observationes miscellaneæ in librum Job*; printed in 8°, at Amsterdam, 1758. 'Tis remarkable, that the unknown author dedicates it to his friend Mr Vernet, Professor of Divinity at Geneva; notwithstanding the preface expressly denies the perfection of the printed *Heb. Text*; which (if not at present) was some few years since an article of Faith in Switzerland. Dissertat. p. 236.

The following are the words of this learned and judicious Foreigner --- *Erunt, sat scio, qui in conjectando, circa rectam textus Hebræi constitutionem, me audaciæ intolerandæ arguent. Nimirum hodie habemus theologos, qui puncta omnia & apices, quos suis codicibus Masoretarum vitilitatrix allevit diligentia, tanta veneratione prosequuntur, ut ipsis religio sit, vel latum unguem inde discedere: aut si quis, iis neglectis, paulo aliter eadem verba legere tentet,*
levis

levis mutationis dispendio sensum luculentiorē eruens; actum prorsus esse de Textu, ac totius S. Scripturæ auctoritatem periclitari, clamitent.

--- Qui vero ea superstitione attinentur, ut omnem conjectandi libertatem a S. Textus tractatione procul arceant, & in ea re accuratæ Critices operam sacrilegii postulent; pro me respondentem audiant Franciscum Hare. --- Hanc semitam inire, tanto duce & auspice, haud cunctatus, conjecturas pauculas, circa Hebræi codicis aut potius editionis Masoreticæ emendationem, in medium protuli. Minime enim, quod tantum conjecturæ sint, statim rejiciendæ sunt; sed tunc demum, si necessitas absit aut similitudo veri; de quo magistrorum artis judicium esto. Atque utinam contingerent nobis membranæ illæ Masoreticis codicibus vetustiores, quas bene multas excussisse se ait doctiss. Houbigant; quibusque impigre usus est, ad concinnandam suam Bibliorum editionem! aut evolvere daretur alios paris notæ codices Hebræos, quos in Oxoniensi Bibliotheca latentes, eodem fere tempore, eruisse se testatur --- Anglus; qui varias & momentosas quidem nonnullas lectiones exhibent, & a Tiberiadensis scholæ recensione haud paucis in locis discrepant. Dici vix potest, quot tunc nebulæ dispellerentur; quantasve improvisa hæc lux Criticæ sacre suppetias ferret. Præf. p. 19 --- 28.

Having

Having thus mention'd the works of others, I shall now state the nature of my own endeavours upon this subject. The same notion of the perfection of the printed Heb. Text, which a few years ago was very general, and is still entertain'd by many, was a strong prejudice also with *me*, till about ten years since: when, being desir'd by a friend to consider 2 Sam. 23, 8, I was led to discern some corruptions in that particular text; and consequently learnt, that the integrity of the Heb. Bible ought not to be maintain'd. I proceeded afterwards to examine the verses following in that chapter; and the result was a full conviction, that the Heb. Text contain'd a variety of corruptions. The proofs arising from this chapter appear'd the more clear and conclusive, as the chapter contain'd many *names* and *numbers*, the sense of which is more fix'd and less liable to be explain'd away: and proofs arising from this chapter were the more strong, because the 11th ch. of the 1st book of *Chronicles*, containing the same catalogue, seem'd to have been express'd at first nearly in the same words. From a comparison of these parallel chapters with one another, and with the ancient versions of both, there seem'd to arise, not only proof that the mistakes were

many,

many, but also evidence for the satisfactory correction of *some*, and these of considerable consequence to the sense of the two chapters. And as a plan of this nature, form'd upon chapters less material than many others, might find men more free from system and prejudice; and might awaken the attention of the Learned to other parts, of greater moment, which might also be found corrupted; I was persuaded to publish my observations.

Almost the whole of what I thus propos'd publishing was printed off, before I had seen any Heb. MSS; having made no enquiries after them, because I had then constantly heard and read --- that all the Heb. MSS now extant were very late and perfectly uniform. However, having at last discover'd some in the Bodleian library, I soon found encouragement to enquire farther; and the number of Heb. and Samar. MSS, which I met with in Oxford and Cambridge, amounted to SEVENTY copies: some containing the whole, and others only parts of the old Testament. It could afford me no small satisfaction to find the scheme, which I had thought necessary for the honour of Revelation, so unexpectedly confirm'd by MSS. For these not only demonstrated, that the Jews had made many and
great

great mistakes (by omission, interpolation, and change) as was known to be the case with other transcribers; but these MSS were found to contain several of the very readings, which had been before recommended as genuine.

To the comparison of these parallel chapters I therefore added (by way of *a second part*) a catalogue of our MSS, with some remarks on their different ages and degrees of importance; proving, that they contain'd many true readings, where the printed text was corrupted; and also, some of the very readings translated in the ancient versions, where those versions differ from the printed Hebrew. So that as some of those MSS were 600 or 700 years old; they would correct many mistakes introduc'd about those times, or since: and as they gave this remarkable sanction to the ancient versions; these versions, thus confirm'd, would correct other mistakes introduc'd more than *a thousand* years before. The whole of what I had thus to offer I submitted to the Public with deference; not doubting, but these well-meant endeavours would be approv'd by some, tho' they would probably occasion very wrathful expostulations from others.

Nor were these apprehensions entirely vain; since the Dissertation was soon favour'd with
the

the notice both of friends and of enemies. And as I am bound to express my grateful sense of the honour it has receiv'd from some, who have also kindly pointed out a few mistakes; so am I oblig'd to others for whole Pamphlets of objections, since these also tend to confirm the general scheme by saying very little to the purpose against it: and perhaps even that *petulance*, or rather *rage of abuse*, which in my profess'd opponents has supplied the want of argument, should be consider'd as the highest compliment, next to the praise of men who are truly praise-worthy.

Amongst the learned men abroad, who have honour'd my Dissertation with their notice; there is one Gentleman, at Leipfic, who has publish'd what he is pleas'd to call a *Latin version of it*. But the Dissertation can have very little chance of appearing to advantage amongst those foreigners, who may judge of it from this unfair translation; in which, as if my work had not faults enough of its own to answer for, it is subjected to disgrace from *numerous misrepresentations made by the translator* --- I wish there was no occasion to add, that *several* of these misrepresentations are very gross, and yet made in places where the sense is very obvious; so that they seem to

P p p have

have been made *designedly*, out of dislike to the principles of the very book thus translated. This, I am sensible, is an heavy charge; but proofs, far more than are necessary, may be produc'd. Besides: what perversions of the sense must arise from printing *Jacob* for *Joab*, *Joab* for *Jashobeam*, *David* for *Jacob*, *Petri* for *Pueri*, and *Samaritan* for *Samuel*? And yet, not one of these uncommon blunders is corrected; tho' the translator hath subjoin'd a list of *Errata*!

I am under the disagreeable necessity of complaining farther; that tho' the translator (in a correspondence begun by himself) profess'd the highest opinion of the Dissertation, and requested a copy to be sent him (which was sent him) as he could not purchase it in Saxony; and tho' he was aware, how much some men abroad were predispos'd to condemn it; and tho' he acquainted me, that *it was publickly as well as privately censur'd by some Divines, before they had ever seen it*; and lastly, tho' he himself pretends to have stood forth valiantly in its defence: this same worthy friend first censures me (in his preface) as *correcting too confidently*; and yet (afterwards) makes me speak **MOST CONFIDENTLY** in a multitude of places, where I have express'd
great

great and proper DIFFIDENCE. So that where I have said, in plain English, that *possibly* or *perhaps* a thing *might* be, or *seem'd* to be, so or so; he frequently, in his Latin, suppresses all these terms of *restriction* and *doubtfulness*, and represents me as pronouncing with *the most decisive and peremptory certainty!*

In 1757, this friend publish'd a treatise *De judicio super variis lectionibus Codicis Hebraei divini recte faciendo*: in which are a variety of things, proper to be consider'd hereafter, if I should ever find leisure and inclination to take notice of all the objections of my antagonists. At present, I only desire the reader's patience, whilst I remark; that some idea of this *learned Critic* may be deriv'd from the following circumstance. In p. 38 of his treatise he says --- FACIES JACOBI h.e. FACIES DEI, *quam Jacobus quotidie poterat aspicere*: Psal. 24, 6. He tells us, that the Gr. Vulg. and Arab. versions read here *the face of the God of Jacob*, and the Syr. version *thy face, O God of Jacob*; but that neither of these readings can be true, because they are both *very intelligible*: whereas the reading in the present Hebrew must be preferable, because it is *more difficult to be understood*. And if he was not to determine thus, he says, he should of-

send against a law of his own making; the meaning of which is --- that *a more difficult reading is ever to be preferr'd before a less difficult*: which (as he explains it) is the same as to say --- that a reading *hard, obscure, and unintelligible* is always to take place of what is *easy, clear, and satisfactory* i.e. light is less eligible than darkness, and sense than nonsense. I do not therefore think it *the least misfortune*, to find either the principles upon which my Dissertation proceeds, or any of the instances by which it is illustrated and confirm'd, pronounc'd erroneous by such a critic as *my friend* here describ'd.

The latest circumstance, which I can mention in this history of the Heb. Text, is my present work; which, as it is a continuation of the former, is call'd *The Second Dissertation* upon this subject. Concerning *this* Dissertation, all that I shall remark here is, that it discovers about FORTY Heb. MSS, preserv'd in England, which were not before mention'd; and from THEM it offers to the Reader numerous proofs of the great points before advanc'd: namely --- that the printed Heb. copies are all taken from very late and bad MSS, or from one another --- that the older MSS have many variations, which not only correct the later MSS,

MSS, but also confirm the authority of the ancient Versions --- consequently, that it is most reasonable, and most necessary, that a review should be made of the printed Heb. Text; that so its corruptions may be corrected by the evidence of *Heb. and Samar. MSS, Ancient Versions, and Parallel Places.*

This last species of evidence not having been much enlarg'd upon in the preceding pages, tho' it is one of the most satisfactory and convincing; I shall conclude this history of the Heb. Text with a very particular illustration of its utility. And it may be foretold without presumption, that the following comparison will prove so forcible and strong (in proof of various corruptions existing in the printed Text) as to extort a *confession* from all, who can ingenuously own conviction; and perhaps will impose *silence* upon those, who may be so obstinate in error, as to be proof against all human application.

Proper Names and Numbers are universally allow'd most easy to be mistaken by transcribers; and corruptions of Names and Numbers may be discover'd and corrected with more certainty than the corruptions of common words: especially, when the same article of history is preserv'd in some other part of Scripture.

ture. The variations of *numbers* in two copies of the same history seem incapable of any other solution than the mistakes of transcribers; and the variations of *names*, tho' these are somewhat more liable to cavil, have generally (I presume) proceeded from the same cause. I know, that some few persons are expressly mention'd in Scripture, as having different names; for which differences some account is there given. I can also conceive it possible, that profane writers, living in different ages and distant countries, might express the names of the same persons with a variation of one or more letters. But I find it difficult to conceive, that profane writers (men of sense) living in the same age and country, could express the names of the same remarkable men with great differences from one another. Much less can I suppose, that the very same sensible writer, mentioning the very same men, would express their names very differently in different parts of his own history. And least of all can I possibly imagine or believe, that this was originally the case with any one or more of the sacred historians. As for instance: it seems absolutely incredible, that the name of the great king *Nebuchadnezzar* should have been originally express'd

seven

seven different ways, as we now find it in the following places.

<i>Jer.</i> 49, 28 :	נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר	NBUCDRAZUR	I
28, 11 :	נְב כְּנַאֲצַר	NB CDNAZ	R
29, 1 :	נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר	NBUCDNAZ	R
29, 21 :	נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר	NBUCDRAZ	R 2
<i>Dan.</i> 1, 1 :	נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר	NBUCDNAZ	R 3
1, 18 :	נְב כְּנַצַּר	NB CDN Z	R 4
3, 1 :	נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר	NBUCDN Z	R
<i>Ezr.</i> 1, 7 :	נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר	NBUCDN Z	R 5
2, 1 :	נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר	NBUCDN ZUR	6
<i>2Kin.</i> 24, 1 :	נְב כְּנַאֲצַר	NB CDNAZ	R 7
25, 22 :	נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר	NBUCDNAZ	R

From these 7 names of one person, or rather from this one name corrupted 6 different ways, I proceed now to *the catalogue of all those, who returned from the captivity, in consequence of the decree of Cyrus.* This catalogue is given first, in the 2d ch. of *Ezra*; and a second copy is preserv'd in the 7th ch. of *Nehemiah*. That this is a catalogue of the very same persons, who return'd at the very same time, seems undeniable; because *Nehemiah* (7, 5) expressly says --- *and I found a register of the genealogy of them, which came up at the first; and found written therein &c.* 'Tis a matter of great advantage, to find *two* very ancient copies of the same catalogue (or history) but

but it must be much more fortunate to find *three*; because, where two agree against a third, that third may be there (in general) corrected safely. Now of this catalogue we have *three* copies, all of very great antiquity, and two of them in books of undoubted authority. The two copies in *Exra*, and *Nebe-miah*, have been already mention'd; and the other is preserv'd in the 1st book of *Esfdras*. 'Tis well known, what various opinions have obtain'd, as to the books call'd *Apocryphal*; especially between Protestants and Papists: and as to *Esfdras*, tho' the 2d book is generally allow'd to be extremely fabulous, the 1st has been extoll'd highly, as being express'd in the Heb. idiom. Some have therefore thought, that it existed formerly in Hebrew; and this is one reason for its being objected ---- that *one whole book is now lost out of the sacred canon*. It may be of consequence, to confute this opinion, and prevent future contentions about this book; which may be done by observing --- that, except *one long story* (and a very few verses varied designedly, and also some accidental corruptions) the book is nothing more nor less than *a copy of what is now related in the books properly canonical*. It was, in all probability, extracted by some very ancient Jew, for the sake of his inserting in it the long

story, concerning *wine, women and truth*; which he might learn from Josephus, or Josephus from him. I shall specify the particular places, from which the parts of *Esdra*s are taken; as soon as I have acquainted the Reader, that for this considerable discovery he is oblig'd to the Reverend and very Learned Mr SANFORD, Fellow of *Balliol* College; to whom I must here express my gratitude for this, and many other excellent observations.

Esd. 1, 1; to 1, 23: --- 2 *Cbro.* 35, 1; to 35, 20.
 1, 25; to 2, 1: --- 35, 20; to 36, 22.
 2, 1; to 2, 16: --- *Ezra* 1, 1; to 2, 1.
 2, 16; to 3, 1: --- 4, 7; to 5, 1.
 3, 1; to 5, 7: --- *the long interpolated story.*
 5, 7; to 6, 1: --- *Ezra* 2, 1; to 4, 6.
 6, 1; to 9, 37: --- 5, 1; to end.
 9, 37; to end: --- *Nebem.* 8, 1; to 8, 13.

As I shall conclude this history with the following catalogue, it may be introduc'd with a few observations. If the reader, upon viewing with surprize the differences hereafter noted, should ask; *Whether the Heb. MSS correct any of these corruptions*: the reply is --- that I do not yet know; because my chief business, at present, is to shew the necessity of their being examin'd. But if it be ask'd, *Whether the ancient Versions will assist here*; I can

Q q q

answer

answer --- that they certainly will correct many of those great mistakes, and supply some of the omissions. To particularize all such corrections would be a work of very many pages; and therefore I shall only specify one remarkable correction, deriv'd even from the Vulgat; but in the written, and not in the printed copies of it --- for these last have been here new model'd, in compliment to the later Hebrew Text. In pag. 213, 214, it was observ'd, that tho' we read now in *Ezr.* 1, 10, *silver basons of a second* (fort) 410; yet 'tis highly probable, that the ancient and true reading was *silver basons* 2410 (without mentioning a 2d fort) as we find it now printed in the parallel verse in *Esdras*. This conjecture I have been since enabled to confirm by a Latin MS, in Exeter College library, catalogued C 2, 13; which reads here in *Ezra* --- *scyphi argentei* 2410: and with this MS agree the Bodleian Lat. MSS, N° 757, 2032, 2682, 3563, 4089.

Jerom's Preface to EZRA.

Non potest verum asseri, quod [ita] diversum est.

Ezr. ch. 2, 1 &c. *Now these are the children of the*
Neh. ch. 7, 6 &c. *These are the children of the*

Esd. ch. 5, 7 &c. *And these are they of*

Ezr. province, that went up out of the captivity,

Neh. province, that went up out of the captivity,

Esd. Jewry, that came up from the captivity,

Ezr. of those which had been carried away, whom
 Neh. of those that had been carried away, whom
 Efd. where they dwelt as strangers, whom
 Ezr. Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon had car-
 Neh. Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon had car-
 Efd. Nabuchodonosor the king of Babylon had car-
 Ezr. ried away unto Babylon; and came again un-
 Neh. ried away ; and came again
 Efd. ried away unto Babylon; and they returned un-
 Ezr. to Jerusalem and Judah,
 Neh. to Jerusalem and to Judah,
 Efd. to Jerusalem and to the other parts of Jewry,
 Ezr. every one unto his city.
 Neh. every one unto his city.
 Efd. every man to his own city.

[The 12 Chiefs, representing the 12 Tribes]

E Z R.	N E H.	E S D.
1 Zerubbabel	Zerubbabel	Zorobabel
2 Jeshua	Jeshua	Jesus
3 Nehemiah	Nehemiah	Nehemias
4 Seraiah	Azariah	Zacharias
5 Reelaiah	Raamiah	Reesaias
6	Nahamani	Enenius
7 Mordecai	Mordecai	Mardocheus
8 Bilshan	Bilshan	Beelfarus
9 Mispar	Mispereth	Aspharatus
10 Bigvai	Bigvai	Reelius
11 Rehum	Nehum	Roimus
12 Baanah	Baanah	Baana

T H E C H I L D R E N O F

Parosh	2172	Parosh	2172	Phoros	2172
Shephatiah	372	Shephatiah	372	Saphat	472
Arah	775	Arah	652	Arés	756

Q q q 2

Pahath-

510 HIST. OF HEB. TEXT.

Pahath-moab	2812	Pahath-moab	2818	Phaath-moab	2812
Helam	1254	Elam	1254	Elam	1254
Zattu	945	Zattu	845	Zathui	945
Zaccai	760	Zaccai	760	Corbe	705
Bani	642	Binnui	648	Bani	648
Bebai	623	Bebai	628	Bebai	623
Azgad	1222	Azgad	2322	Sadas	3222
Adonikam	666	Adonikam	667	Adonikam	667
Bigvai	2056	Bigvai	2067	Bagoi	2066
Adin	454	Adin	655	Adin	454
Ater Hezekiah	98	Ater Hezekiah	98	Aterezias	92
				Ceilan }	
				Azetas }	67
				Azuram	432
				Ananias	110
Bezai	323	Haslum	328	Arom	32
Jorah	112	Bezai	324	Bassa	323
Haslum	223	Hariph	112	Azephurith	102
Gibbar	95	Gibeon	95	Meterus	3005
Bethlehem	123	Bethlehem	123	Bethlomon	123
Netophah	56	Netophah	65	Netophah	55
Anathoth	128	Anathoth	128	Anathoth	158
Azmaveth	42	Bethazmaveth	42	Bethsamos	42
Kirjatharim }		Kirjathjearim }		Kiriatharius	25
Chephirah }	743	Chephirah }	743	Caphira }	
Beeroth }		Beeroth }		Beroth }	743
				Pira	700
				Chadiaz }	
				Ammidioi }	422
Ramah }	621	Ramah }	621	Cirama }	621
Gabel }		Gabel }		Gabdes }	
Michmas	122	Michmas	122	Macalon	122
Bethel }	223	Bethel }	123	Betolius - - -	- - -
Ai }		Ai }		- - - - -	- - -
Nebo	52	Nebo	52	- - - - -	52
Magbifh	156			Nephis	156
Elam	1254	Elam	1254		
Harim	320	Harim	320		
Lod }		Jericho	345		
Hadid }	725	Lod }		Calamolalus }	725
Ono }		Hadid }	721	Onus }	
Jericho	345	Ono }		Jerechus	245
Senaah	3630	Senaah	3930	Annaas	3330
Jedaiah }		Jedaiah }		Jeddu }	
Jeshua }	973	Jeshua }	973	Jefus }	972
				Sannafib }	

SIXTH PERIOD.

511

Immer	1052	Immer	1052	Meruth	1052
Pashur	1247	Pashur	1247	Phassaron	1047
Harim	1017	Harim	1017	Carme	1017
Jeshua	74	Jeshua	74	Jessue	74
Kadmiel		Kadmiel		Cadmiel	
Hodaviah	128	Hodevah	148	Banuas	128
Asaph		Asaph		Sudias	
Shallum	139	Shallum	138	Salum	139
Ater		Ater		Jatal	
Talmon		Talmon		Talmon	
Akkub		Akkub		Dacobi	
Hatita		Hatita		Teta	
Shobai		Shobai		Sami	
Ziha		Ziha		Esau	
Hafupha		Hashupha		Asipha	
Tabbaoth		Tabbaoth		Tabaath	
Keros		Keros		Ceras	
Siaha		Sia		Sud	
Padon		Padon		Phaleas	
Lebanah		Lebana		Labana	
Hagabah		Hagaba		Graba	
Akkub				Acua	
				Uta	
				Cetab	
				Agaba	
				Subai	
				Anan &c.	
Hagab		Shalmal			
Shalmal		Hanan &c.			
Hanan &c.					
in all	392	in all	392	in all	372
Telmelah	652	Telmelah	642	Thermeleth	652
Telharfa		Telharesha		Thelersas	
Cherub		Cherub		Charaathalar	
Addan		Addon		Aalar	
Immer		Immer		Ladan	
Delaiah		Delaiah		Ban	
Tobiah		Tobiah		Necodan	
Nekoda		Nekoda			
WHOLE — 42,360.		WHOLE — 42,360.		WHOLE — 42,360.	
Servants	7337	Servants	7337	Servants	7347
Singers	200	Singers	245	Singers	245
Horses	736	Horses	736	Horses	7036
Mules	245	Mules	245	Mules	245
Camels	435	Camels	435	Camels	435
Asses	6720	Asses	6720	Beasts	5525

Tho' it be impossible to enlarge here on the many and great variations in the preceding Catalogue; yet I cannot dismiss it, even for the present, without the few following remarks —

That these three copies must have originally agreed; being most evidently meant to record *the very same* Names, with *the very same* Numbers:

That the *Names*, however, are now so strangely corrupted, as to prove most fully the existence of various errors in the printed Heb. Text, and to call aloud for the most careful and speedy reformation:

That the *Numbers*, tho' varying so very widely in several of their particulars, are yet summ'd up, in all the three printed Catalogues, in the very same sum total 42,360; and yet the real sum total (at present) of the *largest* of the three sets of Numbers is less than 42,360 by above 8400:

That there is, however, a method of correcting these greatly-corrupted Numbers, and compleating the present sum total; which method cannot be now propos'd: and lastly,

That the many alterations of the *Numbers* have probably been owing to mistakes made at very different times, and from different causes;

causes; a few perhaps, from mistaking words at length; some, from mistaking one Heb. letter for another, when written as *numerals*; but most of them seem to have been owing to a kind of notation, us'd about the time of Christ, in the land of Palestine, and therefore probably in *some* Heb. MSS; the knowledge of which notation has been lost for many ages to all the learned world. I therefore congratulate the present age, and our own country, on the discovery lately made of this notation by the learned Mr SWINTON; whose curious tables of the whole method are just publish'd in our *Philosoph. Transactions*, vol. 48, pag. 721 and 728; and vol. 50, pag. 805. This discovery was made partly from the *Palmyrene Inscriptions*, and partly from some *Sidonian Coins*: the dates of the former extending 214 years, from 49 to 263 after Christ; and the date of the oldest of the latter being 153 years more early than the oldest of the former. The Coins express the *units*, from 1 to 10, by short small strokes perpendicular, or nearly so; and the Inscriptions (after the inconvenience of many successive strokes had been amply experienc'd) have one arbitrary mark for 5, admitting only IIII of the successive strokes: the *hundreds*, and *units after the tens*, are express'd

press'd on both, in the same manner as the single *units*. When therefore we consider well the several corruptions in the preceding Numbers; and when we mark, how frequently they consist of a *single unit*, or a *single ten*, or a *single hundred*, too much or too little: how naturally does the notation of PALMYRA, but still more that us'd more anciently at SIDON, (which town was given to the tribe of *Asher*;) I say, how naturally, and how happily, does this notation solve these otherwise inexplicable difficulties! * And we should therefore highly honour all studious researches after such venerable remains of Antiquity; since, whilst they give a pleasing re-existence to arts, once illustrious, but long lost, they prove thus eminently serviceable in correcting the mistakes, made by ancient transcribers, in the several parts of the sacred pages.

* As, for example:

Shephatiah	372	—	372	—	472
Zattu	945	—	845	—	945
Adonikam	666	—	667	—	667
Bigvai	2056	—	2067	—	2066
Bezai	323	—	324	—	323
Jericho	345	—	345	—	245
Jedaiah &c.	973	—	973	—	972
Shallum &c.	139	—	138	—	139
Telmelah &c.	652	—	642	—	652

PERHAPS

CHAPTER V;

containing

A Catalogue of Hebrew and Samaritan MSS.

PERHAPS there will be no presumption in supposing, that the preceding *history of the Heb. Text*, together with *the sentiments of the Jews themselves*, and such other remarks as have been made in this Dissertation, have sufficiently convinc'd the learned Reader ---- that the printed Hebrew Text is greatly corrupted --- and that the correction of it ought to be undertaken, as speedily, and as carefully, as possible. The first thing proper to be done, for correcting the Text of any ancient author, is to examine MSS; and the more of these there are, especially if of considerable antiquity, the more correct will such author probably be render'd. For why is the corrupt state of *Hesychius* and *V. Paterculus*, and the correctness of *Terence*, so very remarkable? The reason is well known to be, that there is extant but one MS of each of the former, and a multitude of the latter. Learned men know this must be the case, as to ancient authors, universally. And nothing could have so long

R r r

pre-

prevented a diligent enquiry after, and a close examination of, the MSS of the Heb. Bible, but a general persuasion (entertain'd without enquiry) that *the Heb. MSS, now extant, were but few*; and that *they were so singularly uniform, as to contain no variations of any consequence*. But, how was it possible, that points of such great importance could have been thus taken for granted! Yet, taken for granted they have been most certainly; and (I suppose) to the no small astonishment of the reader, who has seen several variations, of real consequence, quoted from those MSS in the preceding pages: in which are also produc'd testimonies of their containing *thousands of various readings*. And who can say, before examination, Whether *many of these various readings may not prove extremely valuable*?

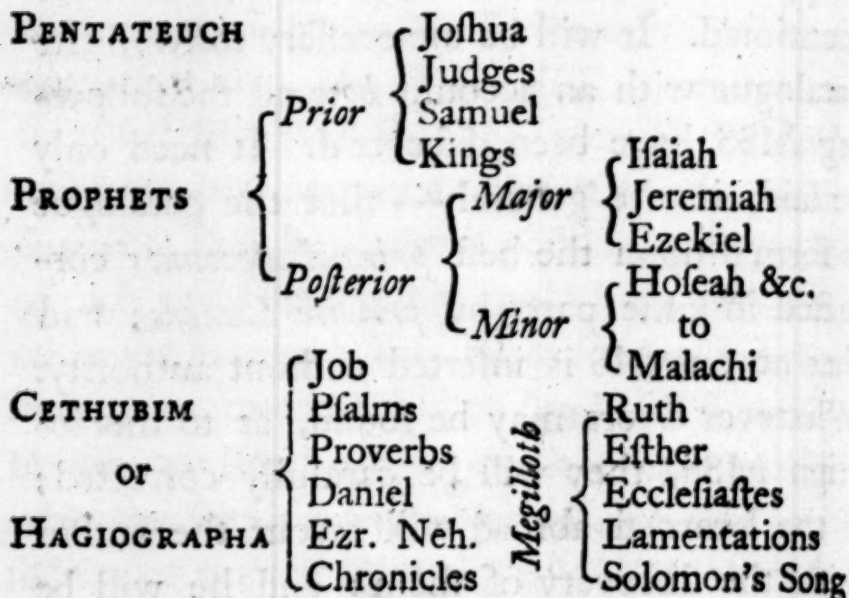
As to the small number of such MSS, now extant; I have made a catalogue of the *titles and places* of above FOUR HUNDRED AND FORTY — a number! about three times as great as that of the Greek MSS of the *new* Testament, which have been collected at such vast expence, and collated with such truly laudable zeal. That this treasure of Heb. MSS may be made use of, they must first be made known; and 'tis hop'd, that the discovery of
the

the following will bring to light many others at present unknown; or, at least, not here mention'd. It will be unnecessary to swell the catalogue with an account *how* all the following MSS have been discover'd. It need only be said, in the general --- that the catalogue is form'd upon the best *printed Accounts* corrected in some parts by *private Letters*; and that no one MS is inserted without authority. Whatever errors may be found, as to the foreign MSS, they will be carefully corrected; if the Learned abroad will favour the author with the discovery of them: and he will be thankful for the notice of *any other* MSS of the Heb. Bible, which are not here enumerated. Before I insert this catalogue, I shall observe farther; that as most of the following MSS contain only *parts* of the Heb. Bible; and as the names of some of these parts will not easily be understood by common readers, without an explanation; the scheme in the next page will remove every such difficulty.

[N. B. The *Haphtaroth* are 54 chapters, or lessons, selected out of the *Propbets*; and read in the synagogues by the Jews, on their Sabbaths and other festivals.] -

518 ON THE HEBREW

The Hebrew Bible is divided thus :



A CATALOGUE of MSS,
Containing the Whole, or Parts, of
The Hebrew Bible.

E N G L A N D

O X F O R D

The Bodleian Library.

1	Bible	2 vol. fol. (general N°)	471, 461
2	Bible	- - - - -	4to 3198
3	Bible	- - - - - 2 vol. 4to	5350, 5351
4	Bible	- - - - - 2 vol. fol.	5945, 5946
5	Pentateuch	- - - - -	fol. 1262
6	Pentateuch	- - - - - 2 vol. 4to	5349
7	Pentateuch	3 large Rolls	5748, 5749, 5750
8	Pentateuch	- - - - -	fol. 5949

AND SAMAR. MSS. 519

9	Pentateuch	- a large Roll	Rawlinson	
10	Genesis	- - - - -	fol.	2131
11	Exodus	- - - - -	12°	5359
12	Gen. Exod. Deut.	12° 978	MSS Hibern.	
13	Lev. Num. Deut. Megill.	- -	4to	5948
14	Num, Deut.	- - - - -	8vo	5246
15	Deuteron. and some Haphtaroth	12°	5935	
16	Pent. Prophets <i>poster.</i> (except Jerem. & Ezek.)			
	& Hagiographa	3 vol. fol.	2878, 2879, 2880	
17	Pent. Megill. Job & Hapb.	- -	fol.	5233
18	Pent. Psal. Megill. (<i>Maccab. Chald.</i>)	8vo.	5356	
19	Joshua, Judges	- - - - -	4to	5933
20	Judges, Kings	- - 4to 979	MSS Hibern.	
21	Samuel	- - - - -	4to	981
22	Sam. Kin. Prophets <i>posterior</i>	- -	fol.	5234
23	Prophets <i>posterior</i>	- - - - -	4to	5911
24	Isaiah	- - - (NE C I, 22)	8vo	
25	Isaiah	- - - - -	4to	5930
26	Ezekiel	- - - - -	4to	3731
27	Ezek. and <i>minor</i> Prophets	- -	24°	5950
28	Prophets & Hagiogr. (<i>Tanner 173</i>)	4to		
29	Hagiographa	- - - - -	12°	5934
30	Job	- - - - -	4to	5938
31	Job	- - - - -	fol.	6055
32	Psalms	- - - - -	12°	342
33	Psalms	- - - - -	4to	945
34	Psalms	- - - - -	4to	1542
35	Psalms	- - - - -	8vo	1878
36	Psalms	- - - - -	12°	2271
37	Psalms	- - - - -	12°	3009
38	Psalms	- - - - -	8vo	3317
39	Psalms	- - - - -	4to	5352

520 ON THE HEBREW

OXFORD Bodleian continued.

40	Psalms	- - (NE C, 1, 10)	8vo	
41	Proverbs	- - - - -	4to	5353
42	Proverbs	- - - - -	fol.	5360
43	Proverbs	- - - - -	8vo	5932
44	Ruth, Dan. Neh.	4to 980	MSS	Hibern.
45	Ruth, Ezr. Neh. Job. Lam. Esth.	4to	2606	
46	Ezra, Neh. Dan.	- - - - -	4to	5936
47	Megilloth and <i>Haphtaroth</i>	- -	fol.	470
48	Esther	- - - - - a small	Roll	2964
49	Esther	- - - - - a large	Roll	2973
50	Esther	- - - a small & elegant	Roll	3208
51	Esther, Ecclesiastes	- - - - -	12°	3318
52	Ecclesiastes	- - - - -	8vo	5365
53	Ecclesiastes	- - - - -	4to	6076
54	Song of Solomon	- - - - -	4to	5890

CORPUS CHRISTI College.

55	Pentateuch	- - - - -	fol.	W B 4, 7
56	Samuel (<i>imperf.</i>) Chron.	8vo	W D 1, 5	
57	Prophets <i>posterior</i>	- - -	fol.	W B 4, 8
58	Psalms	- - - - -	fol.	W B 4, 6
59	Proverbs and Psalms	- -	fol.	W D 2, 1

JESUS College.

60	Pentateuch	- - - 2 vol.	fol.	N° 11, 12
61	Megill. Psal. Prov. Job and <i>Hapb.</i>	fol.	N° 13	

St. JOHN'S College.

62	Josh. Jud. Song, Ecclef.	4to	143, abac.	3
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LINCOLN College.

63	Pentateuch	- - - a beautiful small	Roll	
64	Esther	- - - - -	a	Roll

AND SAMAR. MSS. 521

Oriel College.

65 Pent. & Hagiogr. exc. Prov. & Ruth fol. 72

Rev. Dr BARTON, *Christ Church.*

66 Pentateuch - - - - - 12°

B. Kennicott, *Exeter College.*

67 Esther - - - - - a Roll

CAMBRIDGE

The Public Library.

68 Bible - - - - - 4to

69 Prophets *prior* - - - - - 4to E e 5, 8

70 Prophets *posterior* - - - - - 4to E e 5, 10

71 Hagiographa (exc. Megill.) fol. E e 5, 9

CAIUS College.

72 Prophets and Hagiographa . . 8vo N° 404

EMANUEL College.

73 Bible - - - - - 3 vol. fol. N° 1, 27

TRINITY College.

74 Psalms - - - - - fol.

LONDON

The British Museum.

75 Bible - - - - - fol. *Harl.* 1528

76 Bible - - - - - 4 vol. - 8vo 5498

77 Bible - - - - - 2 vol. fol. 5710

78 Pentateuch - - - - - fol. 5586

79 Pentateuch - - - - - 4to 5772

80 Pentateuch a very elegant large Roll 7619

81 Exod. Lev. Num. Deut. & *Haph.* 4to 5683

82 Exod. ---- Deut. Megill. & *Haph.* fol. 5706

83 Pentateuch, Megilloth - - - 4to 7621

LONDON *Museum* continued.

84	Pentat. Megill. and <i>Hapb.</i>	- -	4to	5709
85	Pentat. Megill. and <i>Hapb.</i>	- -	4to	5773
86	Pentat. Megill. Job and <i>Hapb.</i>		4to	1861
87	Prophets	- - - - -	fol.	5722
88	Prophets	- - - - -	4to	5774
89	Prophets <i>prior</i> and <i>major</i>	- -	fol.	5720
90	Kings & <i>poster.</i> Prophets to Nahum		fol.	5721
91	Isaiah to Haggai	- - - - -	4to	5509
92	Hagiographa	- - - - -	4to	5506
93	Hagiographa	- - - - -	fol.	5715
94	Hagiographa	- - - - -	4to	5775
95	Job and Song of Solomon	- -	fol.	5797
96	Psalms and Megilloth	- - -	4to	5686
97	Proverbs	- - - - -	4to	7622
98	Esther	- - - - - a large Roll		7620

Given by SOLOMON DA COSTA Esqr.

99	Pentateuch	- - - a beautiful Roll	N° 1
100	Pent. Megill. Psal. Prov. Job & <i>Hapb.</i>		4to 2
101	Prophets <i>posterior</i>	- - - - -	4to 3

Library at LAMBETH.

102	Psalms	- - - - -	8vo	N° 435
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Library of the ROYAL SOCIETY.

103	Pentateuch	- - - - -	4to	N°
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To these MSS, known at present in ENGLAND, I shall now add those in *other Countries*; disposing the several Places in alphabetical order. The preceding MSS, with 7 copies of the Samar. Pentateuch, amount to 110 copies, making 125 volumes.

ALCALA

AND SAMAR. MSS. 523

ALCALA (Complutum) Spain.

- Bible - - said to be writ in the 9th century.
 Bible - - - - - in the 12th century.
 Bible - - - - -
 Pentat. *Majansius's Letter*; see before, page 358

ALTORF Suabia.

- Esther See *Wolf. Bibliothec. Heb.* vol. 4. pag. 84

AMSTERDAM.

- Bible dated 1299 - - - - - *Wolf.* 2, 297
 Bible except prior Prophets, Jer. & Ezek. 1290
 Pentateuch, 60 copies, in Spanish Jews synagogue;
 see *Leusden's Philol. Hebr.* dissertat. 34, sect. 12.

Library of John van der Hagen.

- Bible dated 1326 4to - - - *Wolf.* 4, 79 to 84
 Pentateuch & *Haph.* - - - 4to dated 1136
 Pent. Megill. & *Haph.* - - fol. - - 1176
 Pent. Megill. & *Haph.* - - - - fol.
 Pent. Megill. (exc. Lament.) & *Haph.* - fol.
 Pent. Megill. Psal. Prov. Job & *Haph.* - fol.
 Prophets & Hagiographa, exc. Megill. - fol.
 Prophets *posterior* (exc. Jerem.) & Hagiographa.
 Hagiogr. with parts of Jer. & Isai. fol. dated 1286
 Job, with parts of Jer. & Isai. fol. - - 1309
 Megilloth, exc. Esther fol. - - - 1215

Library of Cornel. Tripp.

- Pent. Megill. & *Haph.* (*Wolf.* 4; 81, 83) fol. 1428
 Isaiah, minor Prophets & Hagiographa fol. 1290

- Library of Gasp. Ferd. Vega.

- Bible - - - - - (*Wolf.* 2, 300; 4, 83) 1399

Library of Herman van der Wall.

- Bible - - - - - (*Wolf.* 4, 83) fol.

ANHALT-DESSAU.

- Bible (*Jablonski's Bible*; Preface, sect. 6) 2 vol.

AUGSBURG.

- Pentateuch - *Le Long's Bibliotheca Sacra*, cap. 2.

BADEN *Suabia.*

Bible a vast folio *Le Long's Bibliotheca*, cap. 2.
 Bible dated 1106 - - - - - cap. 2.

BERLIN.

Bible (see preceding page 192) 4 vol. *Class.* N 1
 Bible - - - - - 3 vol. N 2
 Pentateuch - - - - - a large Roll
 Pentateuch - - - - - a Roll
 Pentateuch & *Haph.* - - - - - N 3
 Pentateuch, Megill. & *Haph.* - - - - - N 15
 Pentateuch, Megill. Job & *Haph.* - - - - - N 18
 Pentateuch, Megill. (exc. Ruth) Job, *Haph.* N 4
 Prophets *minor*, Prov. & Megill. - - - - - N 11
 Esther 2 copies, each a Roll - - - - - N 19, 21

BERNE.

Prophets (exc. *minor*) Megill. Dan. Ezr. Chron.
 with other MSS - - - - - *Wolf.* 2, 304; 4, 85

BESANÇON *France.*

Bible (Library of the Abby of St. Vincent) 2 vol.

BOLOGNA.

Library of the Dominicans.

Bible very ancient *Montfauc. Bibliothec.* 432 D
 Pentateuch the famous Roll - - *Diar.* pag. 399

Library of the Canons of St. Saviour.

Bible 3 vol. dated 1193 *Montfauc. Diar.* p. 406
 Bible - - - - - p. 407
 Bible - - - - - p. 407
 Isaiah & Jeremiah - - - - - p. 407
 Esther a very ancient Roll - - - - - p. 406

BRIEG *Silesia.*

Pentat. Megill. (many various readings) *Wolf.* 4, 85

CAI-FONG-FU *China.*

Pentateuch very ancient 12 copies taken from it.
 See *Le Long's Biblioth.* cap. 2; also *A Collection of Voyages* (4 vol. 4to 1747) vol. 4. p. 226, 227; & *Renaudot's Ancient Accounts of China*: 8vo, p. 184.

CAIRO Egypt.

Pentateuch 2 copies *Bp. Pocock's Travels*, vol. 1, 28

Bible said to be writ by Ezra - - - - - 1, 28

CESENA Italy.

Bible - - - - - *Montf. Bibliothec.* 433 A

Pentateuch - - - - - 433 A

COPENHAGEN.

Bible fol. - - - - - *Wolf.* 4, 88

Bible fol. - - - - - 4, 88

Pentateuch imperfect fol. - - - - - 4, 88

DRESDEN.

Bible, fol. *Lowth's Praelectiones* p. 169; *Wolf.* 4, 86

ERFURTH.

Bible fol. 2 vol. *Michaelis Bib. Heb. Præf.* N° 1Bible fol. (*Wolf.* 2, 307) - - - - - N° 2

Bible imperf. fol. - - - - - N° 3

Pentat. Megill. Job, *Haph.* (begins *Gen.* 34, 5) 4

Prophets & Psalms imperfect - - - - - N° 5

FLORENCE.

The Laurentian or Gr. Duke's Library

Bible fol. 1295 - *Montfauc. Bibliothec.* p. 241, 30

Bible fol. - - - - - p. 241, 31

Bible 1397 - - - - - p. 244, 1

Bible 2 vol. - - - - - *Wolf.* 4, 88

Bible 4 vol. - - - - - 4, 88

Bible 3 vol. - - - - - 4, 88

Genesis - - - - - 4, 88

Deuter. Megill. & *Haph.* 4to *Montf.* p. 249, 4

Pentateuch 8vo - - - - - p. 250, 14

Pent. & prior Prophets - - - - - *Wolf.* 4, 88Pent. Megill. & *Haph.* 498 *Montf.* p. 250, 10Pent. Megill. & *Haph.* 478 fol. - p. 249, 1Pent. Megill. & *Haph.* 291 - - - p. 249, 3Joshua to Ezra - - - - - *Wolf.* 4, 88Joshua, Judges, Samuel 4to *Montf.* p. 241, 45Prophets posterior - - - - - *Wolf.* 4, 88

FLORENCE continued.

Ezekiel &c. to Zechariah 4to *Montf.* p. 240, 9
 Prophets *poster.* Psal. Job, Prov. Esth. Ruth, Eccl.
 Hagiographa fol. - - - *Montf.* p. 245, 12
 Job, Ezra 4to - - - - - p. 242, 52
 Psal. Prov. Job, Dan. 16° - - - - p. 240, 18
 Esther 3 copies - - - - - p. 240; 14, 20, 24

St. Mark's Library.

Bible a Roll - - - - - *Wolf.* 2, 308

FURTH Franconia.

Esther a Roll - - - - - *Wolf.* 2, 310

H A G U E.

Bible fol. (*March. de St. Philippe*) *Wolf.* 4, 89.

H A L L.

Bible a Roll - - - - - *Wolf.* 2, 310

Pentateuch (*Eras. de Seidel's*) *Jablonsk. Pref. sec. 6*

H A M B U R G H.

Bible 4 vol. fol. 1371 *Wolf.* 2, 311; 4, 90

Bible said to be 900 years old - - - 2, 300

Gen. & Exod. *imperf.* fol. - - - - 2, 309

Gen. Exod. Deut. Job fol. - - - - 2, 309

Numb. (*imperf.*) Deut. Megill. fol. - 2, 309

Deut. Ruth, Lam. Eccl. 8vo *Montf. Bibl.* p. 1169

Pentateuch 4to - - - - - *Wolf.* 2, 321

Pentateuch 4to 1381 - - - - - 4, 93

Pentateuch, Jerem. & part of Isai. 4to 4, 89

Pentateuch & Job fol. - - - - - 2, 302

Pentateuch, Megilloth, Job & *Haph.* fol. 2, 309

Pentat. Megill. Job & *Haph.* fol. 2, 311; 4, 89

Pentat. Megill. (exc. Esth.) Job, *Haph.* 8vo 2, 309

Pentat. Megill. & *Haph.* fol. 1420 - 2, 309

Prophets fol. - - - - - 2, 321

Prophets fol. - - - - - 4, 92

Prophets, exc. Joshua fol. - - - - 2, 309

Prophets & Hagiographa fol. - - - 2, 309

Proph. Psal. Pro. Ecc. Song, Chro. *Maccab.* 2, 311

Job & part of Jeremiah fol. - - - 4, 93

AND SAMAR. MSS. 527

Psalms	fol.	- - - - -	Wolf. 2, 321; 4, 92
Psalms	fol.	- - - - -	- - - - - 2, 310
Psalms	12°	2 copies - - - - -	- - - - - 2, 310
Psalms	16°	- - - - -	- - - - - 2, 310; 4, 92
Psalms & Job	4to	1161 - - - - -	- - - - - 2, 294
Proverbs	12°	- - - - -	- - - - - 4; 88, 92
Dan. Ezr. Nehem. Chron.	8vo	- - - - -	- - - - - 2, 310
Ruth	a Roll	- - - - -	- - - - - 2, 310
Esther	2 copies each a Roll	- - - - -	- - - - - 2, 310
Song, Ruth, Lamentations	4to	- - - - -	- - - - - 4, 93

HANOVER.

Library of R. David Oppenheimer.

Bible	fol.	- - - - -	Wolf. 2, 312
Pentateuch	2 vol. fol.	- - - - -	- - - - - 2, 313
Pentateuch	1032 4to	- - - - -	- - - - - 4, 82
Pentateuch, Megilloth & Hapb.	4to	- - - - -	- - - - - 2, 312
Prophets	fol.	- - - - -	- - - - - 2, 312

HEIDELBURG.

Bible	- -	Hotting. Biblioth. Quadripart. p. 179
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HELMSTAD.

Pentateuch	- - - - -	Wolf. 2, 312
Pentateuch	a Roll - - - - -	- - - - - 2, 312
Pentateuch, Megilloth & Hapb.	- - - - -	- - - - - 2, 313

HESSE-CASSEL.

Pentat. & Hagiogr.	fol.	Act. Lips. 1757 p. 559
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HOB A near Damascus.

Bible	3 copies Rolls	Perry's View Levant, p. 136
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IENA.

Bible	2 vol. fol.	1343 - - - - - Wolf. 2, 299
Prophets & Hagiographa	- - - - -	- - - - - 2, 313

KONINGSBURG.

Pent. Megill. Jud. Job & Hapb.	1313 fol.	- - - - - 2, 298
Prophets & Hagiographa	fol.	- - - - - 2, 320

LEIPSIC.

Pentat. Ruth, Song, Lam. & Hapb.	- - - - -	- - - - - 2, 314
Pentat. Megill. Psal. Prov. Job & Maccab.	Chald.	- - - - -

LEYDEN.

Bible	- -	(<i>Wolf.</i> 2, 314; 4, 93)	8vo	Gol. 9
Leviticus	- -	<i>Catalogue</i> , printed 1716,	p. 405	
Pent. Isai. Sam. Kin. Lam.	-	(<i>Wolf.</i> 4, 93)	Gol. 42	
Prophets, except Kings	- -	(<i>Wolf.</i> 2, 314)	Gol. 6	
Psalms	- - - - -	<i>Catalogue</i> , p. 404		

LYONS France.

Bible	1295	- - - - -	<i>Wolf.</i> 4, 82	
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MECHLIN Flanders.

Psalms	- - - - -	<i>Wolf.</i> 2, 315		
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MILAN.

Bible	-	<i>Montfauc. Diar.</i> p. 11; & <i>Wolf.</i> 2, 300		
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MODENA.

Bible	- - - - -	<i>Montfauc. Diar.</i> p. 31		
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NUREMBURG.

Pentateuch	- - - - -	<i>Wolf.</i> 2, 316		
Megilloth	- - - - -	2, 316		

PADUA.

Bible	fol.	- - - - -	<i>Wolf.</i> 2, 319	
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PARIS.

The Royal Library.

Bible	- - - - -	1357	fol. N° 1	
Bible	- - - - -		fol. 2	
Bible	(<i>Houbigant's Prolegom.</i> p. 103)		fol. 3	
Bible	- - - - -	2 vol.	fol. 4, 5	
Bible	(<i>Houb. Proleg.</i> p. 105)	2 vol.	fol. 6, 7	
Bible	- - - - -	1272	4to 26	
Bible	- - - - -	1332	4to 27	
Bible	- - - - -	1346	4to 28	
Bible	(<i>Houb. Proleg.</i> p. 106)	1347	4to 29	
Bible	- - - - -		4to 30	
Bible	- - - - -	1404	4to 31	
Bible	- - - - -		8vo 52	
Pentateuch	- - - - -		fol. 10	
Pentateuch	- - - - -		fol. 11	
Pentateuch	3 copies each a Roll	-	22, 23, 24	
Pentateuch	(<i>defective at the end</i>)		4to 33	
Pentateuch	- - - - -	2 vol.	4to 34, 35	

Genesis, Exodus, Megilloth	- - -	4to	36
Exod. & Hagiogr. exc. Megill.	1284	fol.	12
Lev. Deut. Megill. & <i>Haph.</i>	- - -	fol.	13
Numbers, Deuteronomy	- - -	4to	37
Pentat. Megill. <i>Haph.</i> & <i>Maccab.</i>	-	fol.	8
Pentat. Megill. (exc. Ruth) & <i>Haph.</i>		fol.	9
Pentat. & <i>prior</i> Prophets	- - -	4to	32
Prophets	- - -	fol.	15
Prophets, except Judges	- - -	fol.	14
Prophets <i>prior</i>	- - -	fol.	17
Prophets <i>posterior</i> (<i>defect. at begin.</i>)	-	4to	49
Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel	- - -	fol.	21
Prophets & Hagiogr. exc. Megill.	-	fol.	16
Hagiographa, exc. Chronicles	- - -	fol.	18
Hagiographa, exc. Dan. Ezr. & Neh.		fol.	19
Hag. (exc. Eccl.) & <i>prior</i> Proph.	1198	4to	48
Job	- - -	8vo	53
Psalms	- - -	fol.	20
Psalms	- - -	4to	50

Library of the Oratory.

Bible (<i>Houb. Praleg.</i> p. 97)	1069	fol.	53
Bible (<i>Houb.</i> p. 99) <i>Perpign.</i>	1299 or 1301	fol.	55
Bible (<i>Houb.</i> p. 100)	3 vol. 1316	fol.	42
Bible (<i>Houb.</i> p. 101)	- - -	fol.	57
Bible (<i>Houb.</i> p. 101)	- - -	fol.	56
Pent. Hagiogr. (<i>Houb.</i> p. 101)	1100	fol.	59
Prophets <i>prior</i> & <i>major</i> (<i>Wolf.</i> 2, 317)	1208	fol.	54
Prophets <i>posterior</i> (<i>Wolf.</i> 2, 317)	- -	fol.	58

Library of the Sorbonne.

Bible - - - - -	(<i>Wolf.</i> 2, 320)	fol.	1
Bible - - -	1312 (<i>Wolf.</i> 2, 298)	fol.	2
Pentateuch, Megilloth	(<i>Wolf.</i> 2, 320)	4to	5

Library of St. Germain.

Pent. Megill. & <i>Haph.</i>	fol. <i>Montf. Bibl.</i> 1138	C
Josh. Judg. Ruth, <i>poster.</i> Prophets	fol. <i>Wolf.</i> 4, 95	

Library of the Canons of St. Victor.

Ruth, Psal. Eccles. Song	fol. - -	<i>Wolf.</i> 4, 96
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530 ON THE HEBREW

PARIS Library of Monfr. Begon.
Bible - - - - - 1301 4to *Wolf.* 4, 83

PEKIN
Library call'd *Fan-King-Tchang.*
Bible - - - *Purchas's Relations*; vol. 5. p. 150

ROME.
The VATICAN Library See Note, p. 19.
Bible 1295 vast fol. - - *Montf. Diar.* p. 277
Bible 979 *Blanchini's Evangel. Quadru.* 2, 627
Bible - - - - - *Wolf.* 2, 320
Pentat. *Asseman. Bibl. Orient.* 1, 631; *Wolf.* 4, 98
Pentat. - *Preface of Viccars's Decapla in Psalmos*
Pent. Proph. 973 *Lowth* p. 168; *Blanchini* 2, 603
Pentat. & Megilloth 4to - - - *Wolf.* 2, 320
Deut. Megill. *Hapb.* 840 *Blanchin. Evang.* 2, 628

Library of Pr. Cbiggi.
Bible - - - - - *Montf. Diar.* p. 237

Library of Card. Ottoboni.
Bible R 2, 12 - - *Montf. Bibliothec.* 183 D

SCHAFHAUSEN Switzerland.
Bible fol. - - - - - *Wolf.* 2, 320

STRASBURG.
Prophets & Hagiogr. 3 vol. - - *Wolf.* 2, 304

TOLEDO.
Pent. Megill. *Hapb.* *Majansius's Letter*; see p. 358

TREVIGIO near Venice.
Bible *defective at beginning* *Montf. Diar.* p. 75

TURIN.
The Royal Library.
Bible - - 3 vol. 1305 fol. N° 44, 45, 46
Bible - - - - - 1310 4to 107
Bible - - - - - 4to 108
Bible - - - - - 4to 109
Pentat. Hagiogr. *Maccab.* & Prophets 4to 111
Pentat. Megill. Job & *Hapb.* - - - fol. 13
Prophets & Hagiographa - - - - fol. 47

AND SAMAR. MSS. 531

Prophets & Hagiogr. exc. Megill. 1335 4to 110
 Pfalms, Job & Proverbs - - - 8vo 161
 Pfalms - - - - - 4to 112

V E N I C E.

Library of *Ant. Cappellus*.

Bible - - - - - *Montfauc. Diar.* p. 63
 Bible, *imperfect* - - - - - p. 63

V I E N N A.

Pentateuch fol. *Reimman's Biblioth. Vindob.* p. 762
 Deut. Esth. Song, Lam. Job, Jer. fol. - p. 760
 Prophets & Hagiographa, exc. Megilloth - - -
 Pfalms, Job, Daniel fol. - - - - -

U L M Suabia.

Pentateuch, Megilloth & *Haph.* - - *Wolf.* 4, 96

U P S A L.

Pentat. Megill. & *Haph.* - *Wolf.* 2, 321; 4, 96

U T R E C H T.

Library of *J. Leusden*, Professor.

Pentateuch - - *Philol. Heb. dissert.* 34, sect. 2
 Esther 2 copies fol. & 8vo - - - - -

Library of *Dav. Mill*, Professor.

Pent. Jos. Jud. Sam. Jer. fol. 1136 *Wolf.* 4, 80
 Megilloth & *Haphtaroth* fol. 1134 - - 4, 80

W R A T I S L A W.

Pentat. Hagiogr. & *Haph.* fol. 1238 *Wolf.* 2, 296
 Prov. & Hagiogr. exc. Megill. fol. - 2, 321

Z E R B S T Saxony.

Library of Professor *Bashuysen*.

Bible - - - - - *Wolf.* 2, 301
 Pentat. Megill. & *Haph.* - - - - - 2, 301

Z U R I C H.

Bible - - - *Hotting. Thesaur. Philolog.* p. 181
 Pentateuch - - - *Exercit. Anti-Morin.* p. 44

The following general Testimonies may be added.

Speciatim intellexi, FESSÆ in Africa, & THESSALONICÆ in Græcia, codices quosdam Hispanicis perfectiores & meliores deprehendi. Memini quoque me audire, quod CONSTANTINOPOLI nobilis Hebræus (cui nomen est Tam Ahia) varia, eaque emendatissima & antiquissima, codicis sacri exemplaria, manu descripta possideat; quorum nonnulla sint apud Don Joseph Naffi, dignissimum Naxi ducem. Aboab Judæus; Wolf. 2, 302.

Judæi multi in ÆTHIOPIA nunc supersunt, alii juxta Nilum: plerique adhuc habent suas synagogas, suaque Biblia Hebraica. Ludolf. Hist. Æthiop. l. 1, c. 14.

Refert Moses Pereyra, se invenisse manuscripta exemplaria (Hebræi textus) MALABARICA. Tradit Judæos, a Tito fugientes, per Persiam se ad oras Malabaricas contulisse, ibique cum 80 animabus salvo advenisse. Unde constat, MStis Malabaricis multum fidei tribuendum esse. Wolf. 4, 97.

At COUCHIN (a little south of CRANGANORE) there are now about 4000 Jews, who have a Synagogue; in which are carefully kept their Records, engraven on Copper Plates: so that they can shew their history from Nebuchadnezzar to the present time. The Dutch have a Fort at Cranganore; and Mynbeer van Reede, about the year 1695, had an Abstract of their History, translated from the Hebrew into Low Dutch. Alex. Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies (2 vol. 8vo, 1727) vol. 1; pag. 321, 322. See also Renaudot's Ancient Accounts of China; pag. 196.

As

As the Heb. MSS are found to be so numerous; it is impossible to give a minute description of them, at the end of this book: and indeed a minute description of them all would make a volume of itself. The reader therefore will be pleas'd to accept such a general mention of them, as is given in the preceding catalogue; with a reference to the authors, who treat of them more particularly. But yet, there are a few circumstances, relative to *some* of these MSS, which must not be here omitted.

N^o 1 (of the MSS in England) consists of 2 volumes, which are here put together, tho' they have long been separated. In my former Dissertation (p. 318) some reasons were offer'd to prove, that these 2 volumes originally made one Bible: and of this there is now the following demonstration. Both these volumes consist of *gatherings*, each of which is call'd *quinquernio* i.e. a collection of 5 sheets, or 10 leaves; and at the bottom of every 10th leaf is a *catch-word*, beginning the next leaf; which next leaf is the first of the succeeding set of 10 leaves, and so on. But at the end of vol. 1, is pasted on *one leaf* of the next *quinquernio*; which leaf compleats *Deuteronomy*: so that this volume concludes with 5 sheets

and 1 leaf over. And the 1st *gathering* in the 2d volume consists only of 4 sheets and 1 leaf; which last leaf is likewise pasted on, for want of its fellow-leaf: and it is pasted on with the very same sort of paper, as the other single leaf. So that there can be no doubt, but these sheets were written as *one* volume; but that, to make them the more fit for use, they have been separated into *two*: one containing the Pentateuch, and the other the rest of the Bible. For this decisive proof the reader is oblig'd to the Rev. Mr OWEN, the learned and worthy Librarian of the Bodleian Library.

N° 16 consists of 3 very large volumes, in a very large letter. What was originally the 3d vol. (containing the *prior Prophets* with *Jer.* and *Ezek.*) is separated from its fellows, and probably makes a part of some other Library. I find no MS likely to be that here wanting, but N° 54 in the *Oratory* at Paris: which MS is describ'd in *Wolf.* 2, 317.

In N° 18, after *Esther*, there follows (like a book of the Bible) without any title or introduction, *An history of the Maccabees*, written in *Chaldee*; which history is widely different from the history printed in the *Apocrypha*. From the *Chaldee*, which seems to have been the original, this history has been translated

lated into Hebrew, which version is inserted in several MSS of the Heb. Bible. The Heb. version has been printed by Bartoloccius; but in a state so very much corrupted, that 'tis no wonder it has been so little regarded. The only *Chald.* copy, as yet known to be extant in the world, is preserv'd at Leipfic, and is to be found at bottom of pag. 527; which copy is mention'd by *Wolf.* 1, 204. But besides the Bodleian copy, N° 18, I have also discover'd a 2d Bodl. copy, which also is *Chaldee*; it is catalogued N° 5937: and this, as well as the former copy, seems to have been written about 500 years. 'Tis not here pretended, that this written history is, *upon the whole*, more true than that which is printed; but it certainly contains several remarkable particulars: and as I have collated the 2 *Chald.* MSS and also some Heb. copies of it, I find the various readings to correct many of the corruptions in each single copy. The only thing, which I shall specify from it at present, is --- that the 2 *Chald.* MSS agree in detecting a mistake made by Buxtorf, Prideaux, and almost all the learned, in their whimsical derivation of the word *Maccabees*; which, they have told us, was form'd of the 4 initial letters of יהורא במכה (Exod. 15, 11) which

which 4 letters were the motto on the standard of *Judas Maccabeus*. But, as the name in these MSS is writ *מקבי*, and not *מכבי*, that derivation seems to be overthrown: especially, as the reading of these MSS is confirm'd by the Syr. version of the *printed* Maccabean history, which version expresses the word by *p* universally.

In page 523, the MSS, now belonging to *Vander Hagen* and *Tripp*, lately belong'd to *Schultingius*; which is worth noting --- because *these*, and the Heb. MSS at *Turin*, are said to differ wonderfully from the other copies. *Pfaffius* (in *Primitiis Tubingens.* p. 71) inter præstantiores codices Bibliorum Heb. nunciat quos apud Schultingium, & in bibliotheca Taurinensi inspexerat, AB ALIIS MIRUM QUANTUM RECEDENTES. Wolf. 2, 302.

The *Erfurt* MS, N° 2, reads *אלי ad eum* (not *אלי ad me*) in *Zechar.* 12, 10. As the Jewish transcriber of this MS would by no means alter his text, to make it conformable to the *new* Testament (*John* 19, 37) so the context in *Zechariah* confirms this MS, in asserting that the pronoun here was formerly in the 3d person --- *They shall look on HIM, whom they pierced; and shall mourn for HIM &c.* See the preceding pages 344 --- 348. 'Tis surprising,

prising, that the learned Michaelis, who professes to give in his Bible the variations of this very MS, should omit this important reading. It was first remark'd by *Tenzelius*, and from him by *Wolf*. 2, 307.

Almost all the Heb. MSS, assign'd to *Hamburgh*, in the preceding catalogue, were collected by the late learned *John Chr. Wolfius*, from the libraries of *Morgenwegius*, *Trigland*, *Winckler*, *Uffenbach* &c. and at his death, were bequeath'd to the city of *Hamburgh*. *

As to the *Turin* MSS; the 10 beforemention'd are all, that are express'd in the body of the *Turin* catalogue, printed 1749; but the *index* to that catalogue mentions 8 others, as containing the *Heb. text* together with the Rabbinical commentaries.

Having thus enumerated the *Heb.* MSS, I proceed to the MSS of the *Samar. Pentateuch*: and the following is a catalogue of such, as are already discover'd; with their several deficiencies specified, so far as they are known.

* See *Section 24*, in a very valuable Book lately publish'd, call'd *Introductory Lectures on the New Testament*, by the learned *MICHAELIS*, one of His Majesty's Professors at *Göttingen*.

SAMAR. MSS.

N° 1, OXFORD (Usher) *Bodl.* fol. N° 3127.
This MS is perfect; except the 20 first verses,
and the 9 last.

N° 2, OXFORD (Usher) *Bodl.* 4to, N° 3128.
This MS contains an *Arab.* version, in Samar. letters,
plac'd in a column parallel to the Samar. text.
In it are the following parts of the Pentateuch:

<i>Gen.</i> 1, 11 to 3, 14	<i>Gen.</i> 49, 5 to the end
4, 10 to 5, 32	<i>Exo.</i> 1, 1 to 6, 2
6, 22 to 9, 22	6, 19 to 7, 11
10, 25 to 19, 30	7, 22 to 8, 16
21, 19 to 23, 2	9, 14 to 14, 29
24, 3 to 43, 5	16, 23 to 18, 5
43, 23 to 46, 7	<i>Num.</i> 18, 20 to 19, 9
46, 34 to 48, 7	<i>Deut.</i> 8, 13 to the end

N° 3, OXFORD (Usher) *Bodl.* 4to, N° 3129.
This MS contains the several parts following:

<i>Gen.</i> 25, 29 to 26, 30	<i>Lev.</i> 1, 1 to 1, 10
27, 1 to 27, 10	1, 13 to 6, 12
27, 32 to 31, 2	6, 17 to 8, 16
31, 37 to 33, 12	9, 14 to 17, 15
34, 13 to the end	18, 2 to 23, 36
<i>Exo.</i> 1, 1 to 3, 7	24, 16 to 25, 19
4, 4 to 4, 26	25, 36 to the end
5, 16 to 7, 13	<i>Num.</i> 1, 1 to 15, 34
8, 11 to 16, 3	16, 17 to 26, 36
17, 12 to 19, 7	30, 10 to 36, 2
28, 15 to 28, 39	<i>Deut.</i> 2, 8 to 2, 27
31, 10 to 40, 10	17, 20 to 22, 21
40, 31 to the end	The rest wanting.

N° 4, OXFORD (Usher, Laud) *Bodl.* 4to, N° 624.
This MS is defective from *Deut.* 17, 2 to 17, 15;
and from 25, 17 to 26, 16.

N° 5, OXFORD (Marsh) Bodl. 12° N° 15.
This MS wants the first 30 verses; the first 17
and 4 last chapters are greatly obliterated.

N° 6, OXFORD (Pocock) Bodl. 24° N° 5328.
This MS is perfect; excepting, that parts of the
leaves are lost, in the 16th, 23d, 30th, and 31st
chapters of *Deuteronomy*.

N° 7, LONDON (Usher) Br. Mus. Claud. B 8.
This excellent MS is compleat, and transcrib'd all
by one hand, on 254 leaves of vellum; well pre-
serv'd by means of a leaf of fine paper between
every 2 leaves of the vellum.

N° 8, PARIS (Peiresc.) Royal Lib. Samar. N° 1.
This MS (which is not ancient) contains the Heb.
and Samar. texts, with an *Arab.* version in the Sa-
mar. character. Le Long says, that it wants the
first 34 chapters, and is very defective in many
other places.

N° 9, PARIS (Peiresc.) Royal Lib. Samar. N° 2.
This ancient MS is said by Le Long to want the
first 17 chapters of *Genesis*, and all *Deuteronomy*
from the beginning of the 7th chapter. The same
is said in the late Paris catalogue; which adds ---
una etiam aut altera lacuna alibi. But tho' these 2
accounts tell us, that the first 17 chapters are not
in this MS; yet Houbigant (pag. 93) quotes this
MS for a reading in *Gen.* 10, 11: so that there is
some mistake.

N° 10, PARIS (Harl. de Sancy) Oratory, N° 1.
This is the famous MS, which was bought by Pet.

U u u

a Valle

a Valle of the Samaritans, and printed by Morinus. See *Le Long*, and *Houb. Prolegom.* p. 85.

N° 11, PARIS (Dom. Nolin) *Oratory*, N° 2. This MS is perfect; but made up of sheets from different copies: *Genesis* is the most ancient. *Houb. Prolegom.* p. 91.

N° 12, PARIS, in the Library of *St. Genovefe*. This MS is written on paper, and has but little merit. *Houb. Prolegom.* p. 92.

N° 13, ROME (Peir. & Barber.) *Vatic.* N° 106. This MS contains the Heb. and Samar. texts, with an *Arab.* version in the Samar. character. It is very defective in 2 or 3 places; and (according to *Le Long*) is not ancient. Yet we find it dated on the 1st page, as being of the 7th century. *Blanch. Evangel.* part 2, p. 629.

N° 14, ROME (Card. Cobellutius) *Vatican*. This MS belong'd to Pet. a Valle; and was writ also in the 7th century, if the age assign'd to it be true: but we are bid to suspect it by Blanchini. A specimen of the character of each of these 2 MSS is given, in *Blanch. Evangel.* 2, 603.

N° 15, MILAN, in the *Ambrosian* Library. This MS (in 12°) is said to be very ancient; and Montfaucon expresses his wish, that *it was collated with the printed copy*. See *Diarium*, p. 11.

N° 16, LEYDEN, (*Golius's* MSS) fol. N° 1. This MS was bought at Damascus, and is said to be compleat. See Hotting. *Biblioth. Quadrip.* p. 128.

N° 17, NAPLOSE (Sichem) near mount *Gerizim*. This celebrated copy was thought to be about 500 years

years old, when examin'd (in 1690) by Dr. Huntington; see his 33d and 35th epistles. Le Long says --- *Hunc etiamnum conservant moderni Samaritani, quem summopere venerantur --- optandum esset, ut ex eo delineatum haberetur exemplar.* The latest account of this MS is probably from Mr John Usgate, in a Letter to Mr Swinton, dated from *Acre*; and receiv'd at Oxford, in *August*, 1734. In this Letter Mr Usgate tells him --- that *he had been at Naplose, the preceding February*; that *several families of the Samaritans then resided there*; that *they had still their old MS of the Pentateuch, some passages of which were so effac'd as to be scarce legible*; and that *he had made proposals, and hop'd soon to agree with them for the purchase of it: of which he would send Mr Swinton notice.* But no such notice has been since receiv'd; the purchase being probably prevented by the unfortunate death of Mr Usgate, who was afterwards cut to pieces by a party of Persians. So that this curious MS seems to remain, to this day, at *Naplose*; but will (I would fain hope) be soon bought, and imported into *Europe*, perhaps into *England*, by some Great Man or other, who may be zealous to serve the cause of Religion, and do honour to his Country.

Having enumerated the MSS of the Samar. Pentateuch, I shall now resume its defence. The chief objections against it were made by Hottinger; and, to confute these effectually, I shall give, in the following Table, the readings of ELEVEN Samaritan MSS, in the instances he objected to as *corruptions*. The Table will be follow'd by an explanation.

Hottinger's Objections	Orat. 1	Orat. 2	Peir. 1	Peir. 2
1 G 26, 29 עתה אתה	עתה א-	—	—	—
2 E 6, 1 אתה	אתה	—	—	—
3 D 21, 17 עונו	אונו	עונו	עונו	—
4 G 7, 19 גבחים	גבחים	—	—	—
5 E 10, 13 נחג	נחג	—	—	—
6 G 31, 18 ינחג	ינחג	ינחג	ינחג	ינחג
7 G 31, 26 תנחג	תנחג	—	—	—
8 E 14, 24 ויחם	ויחם	—	—	—
9 G 10, 11 כלח	כלח	כלח	כלח	כלח
10 G 30, 38 רחטים	רחטים	רחטים	רחטים	רחטים
11 G 30, 41 רחטים	רחטים	—	—	—
12 G 39, 20 הסחר	הסחר	הסחר	הסחר	הסחר
13 G 39, 20 הסחר	הסחר	—	—	—
14 G 39, 21 הסחר	הסחר	—	—	—
15 G 41, 45 פענה	פענה	—	—	—
16 G 41, 45 צפנתי	צפנתי	—	—	—
17 E 28, 9 שחם	שחם	שחם	שאם	שחם
18 E 28, 18 יחלום	יחלום	יחלום	יחלום	יחלום
19 E 32, 8 מחר	מחר	מחר	מחר	מחר
20 N 32, 15 חניחו	חניחו	חניחו	חניחו	חניחו
21 G 14, 14 וידק	וידק	—	—	—
22 G 41, 3 רקות	רקות	—	—	—
23 G 41, 4 רקות	רקות	—	—	—
24 E 22, 10 נשבא	נשבא	נשבא	נשבא	נשבא
25 E 32, 31 הנח	הנח	—	—	—
26 G 15, 1 ארבה	ארבה	—	—	—
27 N 12, 6 התודע	התודע	—	—	—
28 G 40, 10 שרוגים	שרוגים	שרוגים	שרוגים	שרוגים
29 E 22, 11 ושלם	ישלם	—	—	—
30 L 6, 10 מדי	מדי	—	—	—
31 G 15, 10 בתור	בתור	—	—	—
32 G 49, 7 חברתם	חברתם	—	—	—
33 E 39, 19 חבר	חבר	—	—	—
34 L 21, 18 ערום	חרום	ערום	חרום	חרום
35 E 39, 11 נפג	נפג	נפג	נפג	נפג
36 L 11, 19 דוגפת	דגיפת	—	—	—
37 D 14, 18 דוגפת	דגיפת	—	—	—
38 L 5, 4 לבטח	לבטא	לבטא	לבטא	לבטא
39 N 21, 18 חברוה	חפרוה	חפרוה	חפרוה	חפרוה

Bodl. 1	Bodl. 2	Bodl. 3	Bodl. 4	Bodl. 5	Bodl. 6	Br. Mu.
עתה א -	עתה א -	עתה א -	עתה א -	עתה א -	עתה א -	עתה א -
אתה	—	אתה	אתה	אתה	אתה	אתה
אונז	אונז	אונז	אונז	אונז	—	אונז
גבחים	גבחים	—	גבחים	גבחים	גבחים	גבחים
נהג	נהג	נהג	נהג	נהג	נהג	נהג
ינהג	ינהג	—	ינהג	ינהג	ינהג	ינהג
תנהג	תנהג	—	תנהג	תנהג	תנהג	תנהג
ויהם	ויהם	ויהם	ויהם	ויהם	ויהם	ויהם
כלה	—	—	כלה	כלה	כלה	כלה
רחשים	רחשים	רחשים	רחשים	רחשים	רחשים	רחשים
רחשים	רחשים	רחשים	רחשים	רחשים	רחשים	רחשים
הסחר	הסחר	הסחר	הסחר	הסחר	הסחר	הסחר
הסחר	הסחר	הסחר	הסחר	הסחר	הסחר	הסחר
הסחר	הסחר	הסחר	הסחר	הסחר	הסחר	הסחר
פענה	פענה	פענה	פענה	פענה	פענה	פענה
צפינתי	צפינתי	צפינתי	צפינתי	צפינתי	צפינתי	צפינתי
שהם	—	—	שהם	שהם	שהם	שהם
יהלום	—	יהלום	יהלום	יהלום	יהלום	יהלום
מהר	—	מהר	מהר	מהר	מהר	מהר
הניחו	—	הניחו	הניחו	הניחו	הניחו	הניחו
—	וידק	—	וידק	וידק	וידק	וידק
רקות	רקות	רקות	רקות	רקות	רקות	רקות
רקות	רקות	רקות	רקות	רקות	רקות	רקות
נשבא	—	—	נשבא	נשבא	נשבה	נשבה
הנה	—	הנה	הנה	הנה	הנה	הנה
ארבה	ארבה	—	ארבה	ארבה	ארבה	ארבה
התודע	—	התודע	התודע	התודע	התודע	התודע
שרוגים	שרוגים	שרוגים	שרוגים	שרוגים	שרוגים	שרוגים
ישלם	—	—	ישלם	ישלם	ישלם	ישלם
מדי	—	מדי	מדי	מדי	מדי	מדי
בתור	בתור	—	בתור	—	בתור	בתור
חברתם	עברתם	חברתם	חברתם	חברתם	חברתם	חברתם
חבר	—	חבר	חבר	חבר	עבר	חבר
חרום	—	חרום	חרום	חרום	חרום	חרום
נפכ	—	נפכ	נפכ	נפכ	נפכ	נפכ
דוגפת	—	דג'פת	דג'פת	דוגפת	דוגפת	דוגפת
—	דוג'פת	—	דג'פת	דג'פת	דג'פת	דוג'פת
לבטא	—	לבטא	לבטא	לבטא	לבטא	לבטא
חפרוה	—	חפרוה	חפרוה	חפרוה	חפרוה	חפרוה

Hottinger's Objections	Orat. 1	Orat. 2	Peir. 1	Peir. 2
40 N 22, 30 מהורך	מעורך	מעורך	מעורך	מעורך
41 G 11, 6 יזמנו	יזמנו	—	—	—
42 G 27, 9 עשה	אעשה	אעשה	אעשה	אעשה
43 G 31, 51 יראתי	יראת	—	—	—
44 G 37, 4 דבריו	דבריו	—	—	—
45 E 16, 14 כופר	כפר	כופר	כופר	כופר
46 G 8, 3 היו	abest	—	—	—
47 G 8, 3 וחסרו	ושבו	—	—	—
48 G 8, 22 יזמם	יזמם	—	—	—
49 G 9, 16 אזכרה	אזכרה	—	—	—
50 G 32, 33 הנשיא	הנשא	—	—	—
51 G 32, 33 הנשיא	הנשא	—	—	—
52 G 27, 3 תליתך	תליתך	—	—	—
53 G 40, 10 כאפרחת	כאפרחת	—	—	—
54 G 43, 10 התמהנו	התמהנו	התמהנו	התמהנו	התמהנו
55 G 49, 10 יקחתו	יקחתו	—	—	—
56 G 49, 12 הכלילו	הכלילו	—	—	—
57 G 28, 9 ab. 2 verba	absunt	—	—	—
58 G 31, 27 ab. ובשרים	non ab.	non ab.	non ab.	non ab.
59 E 9, 5 ab. 4 verba	non ab.	non ab.	non ab.	non ab.
60 E 21, 18 ab. 3 verba	absunt	—	—	—
61 E 21, 20 ab. בשבט	abest	—	—	—
62 E 22, 31 השלכ	השליכ	—	—	—
63 E 22, 31 תשליכון	תשליכ	—	—	—
64 G 3, 4 אל תמות	לא תמות	—	—	—
65 G 3, 20 abest כל	non ab.	—	—	—
66 E 7, 22 לחסיהם	לחסייהם	—	—	—
67 E 9, 19 אעז	העז	העז	העז	העז
68 E 39, 3 פ'ח	פחי	פחי	פחי	פחי
69 L 13, 51 ממראת	ממראת	—	—	—
70 L 14, 44 ממראת	ממראת	—	—	—
71 N 21, 30 נרים	נירם	—	—	—
72 L 21, 23 אכל	אכ. אל	אכ. אל	אכ. אל	אכ. אל
73 G 10, 23 חויל	חויל	—	—	—
74 G 10, 23 משא	משא	—	—	—
75 G 10, 27 אדורם	אדורם	—	—	—
76 G 25, 4 אפר	אפר	—	—	—
77 G 25, 13 נבות	נבאות	—	—	—
78 E 6, 15 אחד	אדור	—	—	—

Bodl. 1	Bodl. 2	Bodl. 3	Bodl. 4	Bodl. 5	Bodl. 6	Br. Mu.
מעודך	—	מעודך	מהודך	מעודך	מעודך	מעודך
יזמנו	יזמנו	—	יזמנו	יזמנו	יזמנו	יזמנו
אעשה	אעשה	אעשה	אעשה	אעשה	אעשה	אעשה
יראת	יראת	יראת	יראת	יראת	יראת	יראת
דברו	דבריו	דבריו	דבריו	דבריו	דברו	דבריו
כפר	—	—	כופר	כפר	כופר	כופר
abest	abest	—	abest	—	abest	abest
ושבו	—	—	ושבו	ושבו	ושבו	ושבו
יזמם	יזמם	—	יזמם	יזמם	יזמם	יזמם
—	אזכרה	—	אזכרה	אזכרה	אזכרה	אזכרה
הנשא	הנשא	הנשא	הנשא	הנשיא	הנשא	הנשא
הנשא	הנשא	הנשא	הנשא	הנשיא	הנשא	הנשא
תליתך	תליתך	תליתך	תליתך	תליתך	תליתך	תליתך
כאפרחת כאפרחת כאפרחת כאפרחת כאפרחת כאפרחת כאפרחת						
התמהמנו	—	התמהמנו	התמהמנו	התמהמנו	התמהמנו	התמהמנו
קחתו	קחתו	קחתו	קחתו	קחתו	קחתו	קחתו
הכלילו	הכלילו	הכלילו	הכלילו	הכלילו	הכלילו	הכלילו
absunt	absunt	absunt	absunt	absunt	absunt	absunt
non ab.	non ab.	—	non ab.	non ab.	non ab.	non ab.
non ab.	—	non ab.	non ab.	non ab.	non ab.	non ab.
absunt	—	—	absunt	absunt	absunt	absunt
abest	—	—	abest	abest	abest	abest
השליכ	—	—	השליכ	השליכ	השליכ	השליכ
תשליכו	—	—	תשליכו	תשליכו	תשליכו	תשליכו
—	לא תמות	—	לא תמות	לא תמות	—	לא תמות
non ab.	—	—	non ab.	non ab.	—	non ab.
לחשיהם	—	—	לחשיהם	לחשיהם	לחשיהם	לחשיהם
העז	העז	העז	אחז	העז	העז	העז
פחי	—	פחי	פיח	פחי	פחי	פחי
ממראת	—	ממראת	ממראת	ממראת	ממראת	ממראת
ממראת	—	ממראת	ממראת	ממראת	ממראת	ממראת
נירם	—	נירם	נירם	נירם	נירם	נירם
אכ. אל	—	אכ. אל	אכ. אל	אכ. אל	אכ. אל	אכ. אל
חזיל	—	—	החזיל	—	חזיל	חזיל
משא	—	—	משא	משא	משא	משא
אדורם	אדורם	—	אדורם	אדורם	—	אדורם
אפר	אפר	—	אפר	אפר	אפר	אפר
נבאות	נבאות	—	נבאות	נבאות	נבאות	נבאות
אהד	—	אהד	אהד	אהד	אהד	אהד

In the preceding Table, the first Heb. column contains *the pretended corruptions*; before which are put their *places* in the Pentateuch (*G E &c.* signifying *Genes. Exod. &c.*) and the charges follow each other, as they are advanc'd by Hottinger in his *Exercit. Anti-Morin.* p. 45 &c. And, for the sake of a more easy reference, I have prefix'd *the number* of the objections. In the 4 next Heb. columns are the readings of 4 (out of 5) of the Samar. MSS in Paris; which readings are exhibited in Houbigant's *Prolegomena*, p. 93. From these MSS he gives only *select* readings, in answer to 24 of the objections; and this mark — in his 2d, 3d and 4th MSS, points out the 54 instances omitted: which readings, it may be presum'd, are as Hottinger charges; because they are omitted. The 1st Fr. MS is here fill'd up from the *printed* Samar. Pentateuch, which is taken from MS 1 in the *Oratory*. The next 7 columns give the readings of the 7 Samar. MSS in England, which I have collated in these several instances: and in each of *these* columns this mark — signifies, that the MS is there *defective*.

As the first Heb. column contains what are call'd *corruptions* in the Samar. text; so the Heb. Bible will shew what Hottinger thinks
each

each reading *ought to be*: because he supposes every thing right in the Hebrew, and every thing wrong that differs from it. As, for example: the 1st objection is, that the Samar. text (*Gen. 26, 29*) reads עתה אתה; instead of אתה עתה, according to the Hebrew. In this instance, Oratory 1 and all the Eng. MSS read as Hottinger charges; the readings of the 3 last Fr. MSS are omitted. The 17th objection is, that the Samar. reads שחם; instead of שהם, as in the Hebrew. Here the 1st, 2d and 4th Fr. MSS read right, but the 3d wrong; 5 Eng. MSS are right, and 2 defective. The 53d objection is, that the Samar. reads כאפרחת for כפרחת: it does so in the 1st Fr. MS; the other Fr. MSS are omitted; the 2d Eng. MS reads right, and the others wrong. The 57th objection is, that the words אל ישמעאל are wanting in the Samaritan: and 'tis true, they are so (but perhaps not improperly) in the 1st Fr. and all the Eng. MSS; the 3 last Fr. MSS are here omitted. The 59th objection is this, that the Samar. omits the 4 words וישם יהורו מועד לאמר: but yet, they are not omitted in any one of these MSS. And in the 60th instance 'tis objected, that the Samar. omits באבן או באגרוף; which 3 words are not in the 1st Fr. MS, nor in 5 of the Eng. MSS; the 3

W w w

last

last Fr. MSS are here omitted, and the 2d and 3d of the Eng. MSS are defective.

Hottinger's famous objection was this; that *the Samar. Pentateuch was transcrib'd from the Hebrew, in its present square character; because there are in the Samar. many corruptions, occasion'd by the mistake of letters, which are similar in the Heb. character, but not in the Samaritan.* And he objects farther; that *the Samar. Pentateuch is, in many other instances, monstrously corrupted.* As to the mistakes, said to have arisen from similar letters; that objection has been answer'd at p. 134 &c. The next thing observable is, that amongst the preceding charges of corruption, there are 23 instances, in which *not one* of the eleven MSS reads as Hottinger affirms: and in many of the other instances, *some* (tho' not all) of these MSS read properly. But, if the Samar. MSS had all been found to read as Hottinger charges; why *must* these be wrong, wherever they differ from the Hebrew? Has the infallibility of the printed Heb. text been as yet demonstrated? On the contrary; does it not clearly contain corruptions? And if so; may not the variations in the Samar. text sometimes preserve the genuine readings? Let us take the very first instance. Why may not עתה אתה

nunc tu be as easily suppos'd genuine, as אַתָּה *tu nunc*? 'Tis certain, the Gr. version confirms the Samar. words; for it reads (not $\sigma\upsilon$ $\nu\upsilon$, but) $\nu\upsilon$ $\sigma\upsilon$. As to *proper names*, differently express'd; who can determine, without consulting the ancient versions, or finding the same names repeated in other places? And if other places may assist us; then the word in the 74th instance probably consisted at first of 3 letters, as in the Samaritan; for the Heb. itself gives it 3 letters in 1 *Chro*, i, 17. And in the same chapter of *Genesis*, v. 30, we find a country call'd in the Hebrew מֶשָׁה *Mesha*: which perhaps took its name from this very person מֶשָׁה *Mesha*, as express'd in the Samaritan. So again, in the 76th instance; 'tis likely, that אֶפֶר in the Samar. is genuine, and not עֶפֶר in the Hebrew: and this, notwithstanding 'tis also עֶפֶר at present in 1 *Chro*. i, 33. For the Gr. version of *Genesis* was made from an Heb. copy about 2000 years ago; and in this version we find this and the preceding name express'd by $\Gamma\epsilon\phi\alpha\rho$ and $\Lambda\phi\epsilon\rho$. Now, as the Gr. translator express'd γ by Γ at the head of the 1st word; would he not have express'd the first letter of the 2d word in the same manner, had that letter been the same in the Hebrew? We may conclude, he would have

so done: and therefore, his beginning the 1st with r, and the 2d with A, shews that his Heb. copy began the 1st with y, and the 2d with A; as we read now in the Samaritan. And that this name was express'd formerly with an A, in *Chronicles* also, in some Heb. copies, seems evident --- because the Syr. and Arab. versions preserve the A together with the y; the Syr. being אעפר לבן, and the Arab. عافر عاפר.

I shall close this point with one clear proof, in favour of the Samaritan reading, in the 43d instance. It relates to *Gen.* 31, 51; where we read --- *And Laban said to Jacob, Behold this pillar, which I have cast betwixt me and thee.* The pillar here is universally allow'd to have been *set up*, or *erected*; but, by whom? Certainly by *Jacob*; see ver. 45. But, how then could Laban say to Jacob --- *this pillar, which I have cast, or set up?* The Fr. Samar. MS, which has been printed, reads here (not יריתי but) יראת; which word F. Houbigant defends, and (in his note) renders it *vides*. But this learned author seems to have been aware, that the word could not well be so render'd; for in his Lat. version he renders it *erexisti*: and indeed there can be no such Heb. word as יראת, when deriv'd from יראה *vidit*.

vidit. Under this double perplexity (the Heb. reading being repugnant to the history, and the printed Samar. incapable of a regular construction) we are happily reliev'd by the 2d Eng. MS, which alone has preserv'd the true reading: and there we find the word יָרִית *jecisti, posuisti, erexisti* ---- the pillar, which *thou hast set up*: a reading, which seems indisputably genuine. This is one instance, amongst others (see instances 32 and 53) in which this MS, Bodl. 2, is *the only one*, which has happily preserv'd the truth of the original; so that it is superior in these instances, not only to the other Samar. MSS in England, but also to the boasted MS in Paris. It is the more proper to interpose here, and to remark (in favour of the Samar. MSS in England) that *our copies are sometimes preferable to the copies in France*; because F. Houbigant appears so very inclinable to remove from the Paris copies the corruptions charg'd upon the Samar. text, and to fasten them all upon the Eng. MSS. For he says (*Proleg. p. 91*) *Ex qua collatione planum fiet, id, quod aiebat Buxtorfius, [Samariticum codicem manifestissimis scateri vitiis & erroribus] in eos codices convenire, quos Angli editores venditabant; non autem in eum, quem Morinus edebat Parisiensibus*

in

in Polyglottis. I must add upon this head, for the honour of the Samar. Pentateuch in general, and the Eng. copies of it in particular; that in *Gen.* 31, 33, where a verb (dropp'd in the Heb.) is preserv'd in the Samaritan; and in *Exod.* 18, 6, where great absurdity is introduc'd by a corruption of *הנה* *ecce* into *אני* *ego*: tho' the Hebrew be wrong, and also the printed Samaritan, in both places; and tho' the famous MS of Morinus and Houbigant be also wrong, in both places; yet the true reading, in both places, is preserv'd in FIVE of the ENGLISH Samar. MSS, N° 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, in the preceding catalogue: N° 2 is defective in the 1st instance, and N° 3 in the 2d. The Reader may see these two instances illustrated in my last Dissertation, at pag. 366 and 401.

It may not be improper, to conclude this subject with observing ---- that I make no doubt, but, amongst the 78 instances in the preceding Table, there are some corruptions in the Samar. copies, as well as some in the Hebrew --- that I leave the other particulars, to be ascertain'd hereafter by some one, who may be happy in more leasure and greater abilities --- and that I beg to recommend to the impartial examination of the Learned the several arguments here offer'd, in favour of THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

CONCLUSION.

I HAVE now submitted to the judgment of the Public my observations on the four points, which I propos'd to consider: namely, *the Samar. Pentateuch; the Chald. Paraphrase; the sentiments of the Jews themselves, as to the correctness of their sacred books; and, the number and nature of the Heb. and Samar. MSS.* To these observations I shall here add (by way of conclusion) such things, as seem to deserve notice; but which have occur'd since the printing off those pages, to which they relate: in which pages therefore the Reader is desir'd to insert a reference to these additions. And I shall here also acknowledge, and very readily correct, some of my mistakes; not doubting but the Learned will discover others, which have escap'd my own notice. For as to involuntary errors, in a work of this extensive nature, I have reason to bespeak the Reader's candor, in the words of Dr Hody --- *Quin in multis ipsemet, paucillus homo, erraverim, dubitare nequeo; cum in Viris Tantis tot & tantos animadverti errores.*

In the preceding 3d chapter, and at page 455 &c. I endeavour'd to state the opinions of the Jews on the correctness of their sacred copies;

pies; and to the testimonies there produc'd, which relate chiefly to ancient Jews, I can now add something of consequence, that is modern. I have lately been favour'd with the sight of an Heb. Bible, (printed by Athias, in 1661) the margin of which contains, in writing, curious remarks upon, and corrections of, the Heb. text; grounded upon Parallel Places, the Samar. Pentateuch, the Gr. and Syr. Versions, Josephus, Bochart, Selden, Wall, Hare, Newton, and others; with quotations from Maimonides, Aben-Ezra &c. These marginal notes were made by a very learned Jew; who frequently declar'd his opinion, that *the Heb. text contain'd many errors of the transcribers*, and that *the Samar. was better preserv'd than the Hebrew*. The notes are partly in English, and partly in the Portuguese language: and that the writer was a Jew, is certain from the information I receiv'd; and it might otherwise be inferr'd from his Rabbinical quotations, and his applying the 53d ch. of *Isaiab* to Zerubbabel.

The first article, which I shall quote from these marginal notes, relates to the history of David and Goliath: and I was agreeably surpriz'd at finding, that the same passages (in that history) which had been suppos'd *not genuine*

nuine, both in Mr Pilkington's remarks and the preceding pages (419 &c.) were distinguish'd in this Bible as *interpolated*. The verses from 1 Sam. 17, 11 to 17, 32, and from 17, 55 to 18, 6, were included in *parentheses*; and the margin (which mentions the Vatican Gr. version) observes, that *the history consists at present of different and inconsistent accounts*. The remark on chap. 17, 54 (*and David put his armour in his tent*) is --- *This confirms the Vatic. Sept.* But, on ver. 40, 'tis said --- *This text seems to be against the Vatic. Sept.* This verse has appear'd to others, as well as this critical Jew, to favour the authenticity of the verses in question; for the circumstance of David's having then *a staff, a shepherd's bag and a sling*, seem (say they) to shew, that he was just then come from his flock. But, does not this hurt the cause, which it is brought to defend? If David came then from his flock; why must he bring with him his *sling*? Whether he himself carried the loaves and cheeses, or drove the beasts which carried them; of what use, in either case, was his *sling*? Perhaps it will be said --- that David might be particularly expert at that pastoral weapon: and therefore, as he was going to *the army*, he might take with him that in-

strument of offence; in hopes of an opportunity to shew his skill, and perform some public service: for *slingers* made a very respectable part of an army, in the days of David; see 1 *Chro.* 12, 2. I readily allow, David might excel in the use of this weapon. But then, this solution removes the other difficulty; which arises from David's being suppos'd to *have with him in his tent* (whilst armour-bearer to Saul) his *sling*, and also his *shepherd's bag*, or a pocket, or pouch, made *like a shepherd's bag* (fasten'd to his sash or girdle) in which the stones for the sling were usually deposited. For, these instruments he might carefully keep by him in his tent, as one method of fighting to advantage: a method this, which was held honourable, as being known to be useful; a method of attack, in which David might, and no doubt did, excel greatly; since it was the very method, which in fact he chose for the conquest of Goliath. As to *מקל* *a staff*; it sometimes signifies *a military weapon*, as 'tis express'd in the useful Concordance of Dr Taylor; and 'tis mention'd amongst the instruments of war, *Ezek.* 39, 9.

The words *shepherds bag*, which are generally understood as meaning *the bag of David the shepherd*, properly signify *a vessel or bag of the shepherds* *בכלי הרעים* *in vase pastorum*.

There is another word, which also describes this pocket or bag; and that is ילקוט render'd *a scrip*. for the text says, David put the 5 stones ובילקוט בכלי הרעים, two phrases explanatory of each other; and so the Eng. version renders them --- *in a shepherds bag, EVEN in a scrip*. No mention is made elsewhere in Scripture of the bag, in which slingers put the stones for their slings. But as the invention of a *satchel* or *bag for shepherds* was probably prior to that of such a military pocket; this pocket might at first take its name from *the bag of shepherds*, which it was made in imitation of. And ילקוט might be another and later term, meant to express (by one word instead of two) the very same thing; which (as a pouch now contains cartridges for a musket) then contain'd stones for a sling. I shall only add, that this *bag* cannot easily be suppos'd the *satchel*, us'd by David in the fields, and containing his *provisions*. For, would he have brought his *satchel* with him; if he came to the army with provisions? Or, if he had brought it; would he not have left it in the hands of *the keeper of the carriage*, or with some other person, when he was about to be introduc'd to the presence of king Saul? Whereas the single supposition of Da-

vid's keeping by him (*in his tent*) his sling as a military weapon, and his pocket or pouch for stones (a necessary concomitant of a sling) seems to remove all difficulty. But should any difficulty still remain; it must then be consider'd, whether the notion of the genuineness of the verses in question be not attended with far greater difficulty. See p. 420 &c.

As to the remarks of this Jewish Critic upon other texts; he has also included in a *parenthesis* the words אלהי אביהם (*Gen. 31, 53*) which I had suppos'd *interpolated*, in the former Dissertation, p. 369. As to *the law* engrav'd by Joshua; the margin of this Bible (at *Josh. 8, 33*) calls it *the Decalogue*, agreeably to the preceding pages 88 &c. And lastly; as to the vast sums left by David, before consider'd in pages 353 and 354; this Bible, in the margin of *1 Chro. ch. 22* says --- *It is suppos'd, these Talents are not to be reckon'd like the Mosaick, for they would amount to 720 millions: but as the Scripture makes no difference, we have no other computation to go by.* But, taking leave for the present of this copy of the Bible, I proceed to the other particulars, which remain to be here subjoin'd: and these it may be convenient to place in the same order of succession with the preceding pages, to which they refer.

Pag. 50; *Note*. Bianconi has attempted to explain the characters here call'd *unknown*; and he supposes the inscription to be אל עקר היהב *Deus abstulit afflictionem*. See *de antiquis literis Hebræorum*, pag. 29.

Pag. 55. 'Tis observ'd here, that the idolatrous priest might be the grandson of *Moses*, in point of *chronology*. To which we may add, that the 20th ch. of *Judges* treats of matters posterior to those in ch. the 18th; and 'tis said (20, 28) that *Phineas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, stood then before the ark*. 'Tis certain therefore, that the grandson of *Moses* might live at the same time with the grandson of *Aaron*; and probably he liv'd later, as *Moses* was the younger brother and liv'd after *Aaron*. It would throw great light upon this and many other similar passages; if there were publish'd an exact Table of the successions of the Patriarchs and chief persons mention'd in the old Testament, particularly those of the 12 tribes? I have attempted such a Table, for my own use; and tho' it proves very difficult to state some parts of it, yet I am sure that great advantage may be deriv'd from it, even tho' executed imperfectly. The scheme of my Table is both *Genealogical* and *Chronological*; exhibiting in the center, in a
perpen-

perpendicular series, the line of succession from Adam to our Saviour, with the different chronologies and the times of birth and death, in perpendicular columns near the central line of the Messiah; on the left hand branch off all the *elder* sons with their descendants, and on the right such as were *younger* than those in the central column; and on both sides, the heads of families are dispos'd in equi-distant genealogical lines, so as to discover at one view those who were contemporaries, or nearly so, down thro' the several generations. To recommend to some more able hand the perfect execution of such a Table as this, is the more pertinent in this place; because such a *Conspectus* will solve many difficulties, correct many corruptions, and of course prove greatly serviceable to all those who would examine fully the sacred history. I shall only add, that in my Table, as *Levi* and the other sons of Jacob are extended on one long line, which makes the 24th line of the Table, and the 23d descent from Adam; so *Phineas* and *Jonathan* appear at once as *contemporaries*, being both of them on the 29th line; and being near together, as having the same great-grandfather i. e. *Amram*.

Pag. 57. This supposition, that the 11 cities
were

were omitted *accidentally* (on account of the same word occurring at the end of 2 adjoining verses) obviates the difficulty mention'd by Reland; who thinks, the Jews could not omit these cities *designedly*. But that learned writer has some reflections, which greatly countenance the belief of this considerable, tho' unintended, omission. In pag. 643 of his *Palestine* he says --- *Mirantur multi hanc urbem* (Bethlehem Ephratha) *inter urbes tribui Judæ assignatas non recenseri* Jos. 15; *quandoquidem nativitate Messicæ adeo illustris esset futura. Fit quidem ejus mentio* Jud. 17, 7 --- *sed eo in loco, UBI PRÆCIPUE VIDETUR MEMORARI DEBUISSE, altum de illa silentium est. Monendum tamen hic est, in versione Alexandrina recenseri* (Jos. 15, 60) *hanc urbem inter urbes Judæ, cum nonnullis aliis quas codices Hebræi non agnoscunt.*

Pag. 107. The word חסידים (*thy saints*) being of particular importance; it may be remark'd, that the word in that form is necessarily plural. Vain will be the endeavour to prove the propriety of one word, thus corrupted from singular to plural, by another word corrupted in the same manner. Suppose a man should vindicate (1 Kin. 12, 21) ויבאו רחבעם & venerunt Rehoboam, by alledging that

that (in *Josh.* 6, 7) וַיֹּאמְרוּ & *dixerunt* agrees with *Josbua*; would not such an argument be wonderfully satisfactory? And yet there are men, who think they roundly vindicate one word, however irregularly now express'd; if they can but discover another word unfortunately in the same condition. That Heb. nouns plural, ending in ים, retain י before a suffix as a mark of their plurality, is one of the most general principles of the language; and yet it would be no wonder, if, amongst so many other corruptions, there should be a few instances of such a י being now found in a word properly singular --- as is clearly the case in חֲסִידִיךָ. An objection, arising from מַחֲנֶיךָ in (*Deut.* 23, 14) is thus answer'd in the *Relationes de libris novis Gottingæ* (fascic. XI, p. 104) *Jod in מַחֲנֶיךָ non servile sed radicale est, ortum ex ה tertiæ radicalis, quod ante suffixa jam omitti potest, jam in Jod mutari.* If this be not fully satisfactory; it may be observ'd farther, that the common word for a *camp* is מַחֲנֶה, and that *camps* or *hosts* are express'd by מַחֲנִים or מַחֲנוֹת; but that the word, when plural, is sometimes render'd *camp*, agreeably to the use of the Latin word *castra*. These different uses of the word may have the more easily misled a transcriber; and that
some

some transcriber has err'd here, seems extremely probable --- because this very word is express'd singularly (מִחַנֵּךְ) in this same verse now in the Heb. text; and both these words are מִחַנֵּךְ in the Samaritan. And as to the instance of מְבָרְכֶיךָ בְּרוּךְ (Gen. 27, 29 and Num. 24, 9) that phrase may be taken distributively, *blessed be every one of those who bless thee*. But as to singular participles, in poetical places, *saepiuscule adest, paragogicum*. Buxtorf. Thesaur. pag. 103.

It has been repeatedly observ'd; that out of 31 Heb. MSS, which I have found to contain this Psalm, 27 authorize the singular word חֲסִידֶיךָ. To these 27 I can now add another, preserv'd in the Archi-Episcopal Library at Lambeth, 8vo, N° 435: which reads also חֲסִידֶיךָ *thy holy One*. This MS contains several other remarkable variations. It reads אָכְלוּ *comederunt*, in Ps. 79, 7; agreeably to my former Dissertation, p. 504. It strongly confirms 2 corrections propos'd on Ps. 68, 9: for it reads גַּם instead of אֵף, & יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי instead of אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהֵי; as suppos'd in that Dissertation, p. 502. It also preserves the word יְהוָה JEHOVAH, in several places, where it is lost in other written copies and in all the printed editions.

Pag. 202. In the Lambeth Library are 3 Lat. MSS of the Bible. The first (2 vol. fol. N° 3, 4) reads 40000, 80000, and 50000; the second (2 vol. fol. N° 89, 90) agrees with the printed Vulgat; and the third (N° 756) reads 40000, 80000, and yet 500000. Note also; that the first and third MSS read 4 (instead of 40) agreeably to the preceding remarks, p. 358; and both read 2410 (instead of 410) suppos'd the true reading, p. 508.

Pag. 218. In support of the present readings here specified, and in favour of the large numbers of inhabitants in Palestine, the reader may consult p. 51 &c. of a *Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind in ancient and modern times*: 8vo, Edinb. 1753.

Pag. 295. *Librorum Biblicorum distributionem in Legem, Propheticos, & Hagiographos, esse ultimæ antiquitatis baud dubito: id vero minime credo, libros Josh. Jud. Sam. & Reg. in ordinem Prophetarum a Judæis vetustissimis relatos fuisse; ut factum est ætate Hieronymi, & a Judæis recentioribus.* Hody; p. 190.

Pag. 319. Tho' the reader will judge from the instances already given, that *parallel places* furnish satisfactory evidence for the correction of some corruptions; yet in proportion as more parallel places are compar'd, the stronger will

will be the conviction as to the usefulness, and indeed the necessity, of such comparisons. I am enabled to speak of this matter with the greater certainty, because I have compar'd the whole of *Chronicles* with those other places which contain the same parts of history. The book, which I have form'd for the purpose of this comparison, contains the whole sacred history of the Jews, from the institution of their Monarchy to their re-establishment at Jerusalem after their captivity: and, as it gives in parallel columns *Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah*, with other parallel places; there not only arises an history far more complete (the omissions in one writer being here fill'd up by the additions in another) but also a variety of corruptions are easily discover'd, and may be satisfactorily corrected.

As, for instance. In 2 *Sam.* 22, we have David's sublime Song of thanksgiving; which is also given in the 18th *Psal.* Compare these printed copies together in the Hebrew, with the words of one plac'd over the words of the other; and it will be surprising to see, how clearly one corrects the other in several places. I am aware, that some men have attempted to vindicate the present differences in these 2 copies of this divine Ode, by calling

one a *second edition* of the other, corrected by David's own hand. But this vindication seems vain and groundless; let any man of judgment compare the printed copies properly, and 'tis probable he will form the same conclusion: but if he should want farther evidence, there is extant such as will extort conviction. The evidence I mean is this --- that in several of those places, where the printed copy in *Samuel* seems to read wrong, the MSS of *Samuel* read according to the *Psalms*; and in other places, where the printed copy of the *Psalms* seems to read wrong, the MSS of the *Psalms* read according to *Samuel*. So that many of the printed differences are entirely remov'd by the authority of MSS; consequently the notion, that these differences have *always subsisted* in the shape of a 1st and 2d edition, is remov'd likewise. And it must be remark'd, that none of those MSS, which in the *Psalms* have the readings of *Samuel* and the contrary, can be suppos'd to have been alter'd wilfully, in order to make one copy harmonize with the other; because those MSS of *Samuel* which thus agree with the *Psalms*, and those MSS of the *Psalms* which thus agree with *Samuel*, agree in some places only, but still differ in many others: so that several of
the

the differences before meant are no doubt the old genuine readings, fortunately preserv'd in these valuable MSS.

As I have examin'd the Heb. MSS so particularly in the 2 copies of this Song; the reader may be desirous of knowing --- What number of various readings these MSS *here* contain. And I can assure him, to his no small surprize, that in our Heb. MSS (tho' I have not collated them all) the variations from the printed copy of this Song in *Samuel* and the *Psalms* amount to above SIX HUNDRED. This large number includes, not the variations of the points, but only of words and letters; but then it includes the variations of *all* the letters: as ought certainly to be the case, where even a *ו* or a *י* is sometimes of very considerable consequence. See pages 107, and 375. And to this remark I must add, that there is one Psalm, in which the proper scope and sense of the whole seems lost, on account of the omission only of *one single Yod*. As to the variations before-mention'd; the copy, with which I collated the MSS, is that in Walton's Polyglott. It is not however meant, that the 600 variations are all different and distinct from each other; because the same various reading frequently occurs in more than one MS,

MS, sometimes in 10 MSS, and sometimes in 20; but the 10 variations of one MS, the 20 of another, and 30 of another, and so on, are here added together, to make up the preceding sum total. Note also, that there are near 130 places, in which the printed copy of *Samuel* differs from the printed *Psalms*, either in a whole word or some part of it; and in near 80 of these places, the MSS of *Samuel* have the readings of the *Psalms*, or the MSS of the *Psalms* the readings of *Samuel*. And lastly it must be observ'd; that tho' many of the 600 variations relate to the letter ו, yet many of them relate to other letters; and no small number to whole words: as will appear fully from the following instances.

Various Readings in the MSS of SAMUEL.

- Ver. 2 וְצִדְרִי written וְצִדְרִי, as in the Psalm, in 17 MSS.
 3 מוֹשִׁיעִי תוֹשִׁיעֵנִי written מוֹשִׁיעִי תוֹשִׁיעֵנִי, as in the Psalm, in 19 MSS.
 5 אֶפְפוֹנִי written אֶפְפוֹנִי, as in the Psalm, in 19 MSS.
 5 חֲבִלִי written חֲבִלִי, as in the Psalm.
 5 וְנִחֲלִי written וְנִחֲלִי, as in the Psalm.
 5 יִבְעֶתְנִי written יִבְעֶתְנִי, as in the Psalm, in 11 MSS.
 6 סִבּוֹנִי written סִבּוֹנִי, as in the Psalm, in 15 MSS.
 6 קִדְמוֹנִי written קִדְמוֹנִי, as in the Psalm, in 13 MSS.
 6 מוֹקְשִׁי written מוֹקְשִׁי, as in the Psalm, in 10 MSS.
 7 וְשִׁוְעִי לִפְנֵי תְבָא בְּאֲזִנִּי written וְשִׁוְעִי לִפְנֵי תְבָא בְּאֲזִנִּי, as in Psalm.
 8 וְרִתְּנִי written וְרִתְּנִי, as in Psalm.
 8 מוֹסְדִי written מוֹסְדִי, and also מוֹסְדִי, as in the Psalm.
 11 וִירָא written וִירָא, as in the Psalm.
 12 חֲשֵׁךְ סִתְרוֹ written חֲשֵׁךְ סִתְרוֹ, as in the Psalm.

- 12 סכות written סכתו, as in the Psalm.
 14 משמים written מן שמים.
 15 חציו written חציו, as in the Psalm.
 16 ויגלו written ויגלו, as in the Psalm.
 16 מנערת written מנערת, as in the Psalm.
 18 ומשנאי written ומשנאי, as in the Psalm, in 7 MSS.
 19 יקדמוני written יקדמוני, as in the Psalm, in 12 MSS.
 19 למשען written למשען, as in the Psalm, in 9 MSS.
 21 כצדקי written כצדקי, as in the Psalm.
 23 משפטיו written משפטיו, as in the Psalm, in 17 MSS.
 26 נבר written נבר, as in the Psalm, in 4 MSS.
 27 תתברר written תתברר, as in the Psalm.
 29 נרי יהוה written תאיר נרי, as in the Psalm.
 32 וולתי אלדני written מבלעדי אלדני, as in the Psalm.
 33 ויתן דרכי ויתר דרכי written ויתן דרכי, as in the Psalm.
 34 רגלי written רגלי, as in the Psalm, in 17 MSS.
 34 ידריבני written ידריבני.
 38 ואשינם written ואשינם, as in the Psalm.
 38 כלותם written כלותם, as in the Psalm, in 15 MSS.
 40 ותאורני written ותאורני, as in the Psalm.
 40 תחתני written תחתני, as in the Psalm.
 41 נתת תתה written נתת תתה.
 41 ומשנאי אצמיתם written משנאי ואצמיתם, as in the Psalm.
 43 כעפר על ארץ written כעפר ארץ.
 45 יכחשו written יכחשו, as in the Psalm.
 46 ומסגרותיהם written ומסגרותיהם ומסגרותיהם.
 47 וירום אלהי ישעי written וירום אלהי ירם אלהי צור ישעי, as in the Psalm.
 48 נקמות written נקמות, as in the Psalm, in 21 MSS.
 48 וידבר written וידבר, as in the Psalm.
 48 תחתני written תחתני, as in the Psalm.
 50 בגוים יהוה written בגוים יהוה, as in the Psalm.

Various Readings in the MSS of the PSALM.

- 3 אלהי written אלהי, as in Samuel.
 4 ומאבי written ומן איבי, as in Samuel.
 7 וישמע written וישמע, as in Samuel.
 7 ושוועתי באוני written ושוועתי לפני תבא באוני.

- 8 ומוסדי הארץ written ומוסדי הרים.
 16 מים written ים, as in Samuel.
 18 וממתקוממי written ומשנאי.
 21 כצדקתי written כצדקי, as in Samuel.
 24 עמו written לו, as in Samuel.
 30 ארץ written ארוץ, as in Samuel, in 20 MSS.
 32 מבלעדי אלהינו written זולתי אלהינו, as in Samuel.
 34 ועל written ואל, as in Samuel, in 19 MSS.
 40 ותורני written ותורני, as in Samuel.
 41 משנאי ואצמיתם written ומשנאי אצמיתם, as in Samuel.
 42 אל יהוה written על יהוה, as in Samuel.
 43 כעפר ארץ על written כעפר על.
 43 על פני מים written על פני רוח.
 44 עמי written עם, as in Samuel.
 44 תשמרני written תשימני, as in Samuel.
 44 לאור גוים written לראש גוים.
 46 ויחגרו written ויחרגו, as in Samuel, in 6 MSS.
 49 חמסים written חמס, as in Samuel, in 4 MSS.
 50 יהוה בגוים written יהוה בגוים, as in Samuel, in 3 MSS.

Pag. 320, 18. Vitranga thinks, the Jews were forbid to read *any part* of their Bible. *Quia certa Deum colendi ratio æque in Prophetarum scriptis continetur, quam in Lege Mosis; dubium non est, quin omnia simul abrogata Antiochus voluerit.* Observat. sacræ, cap. 7. * That

* Vitranga observes in the same chapter — *A doctissimis viris animadversum dudum, Legis & Prophetarum versionem, utramque sub nomine LXX venditam, non parum a se invicem differre; atque in posteriori tantas non esse antiquitatis & accuratioris notas.* — *Cum Alexandrini Judæi Græca dialecto uterentur, quæ etiam per totam Ægyptum familiaris erat, vulgus Judæorum paulatim oblitum fuit linguæ Hebrææ. Necessario igitur Græca versio, a viris doctissimis instructa, publice prodiiit; spectabat verò illa versio unice Legem Mosis, facta tempore Pt. Philadelphi.* —

Post

the Prophets were translated into Greek about 130 years before Christ, appears from the prologue to *Ecclus*; where we read, οὐ ἰσθύναιμεν αὐτὰ ἐκ ταυτοῖς Ἑβραϊστὶ λεγόμενα, καὶ ὅταν μεταχθῇ εἰς ἑτέραν γλῶσσαν — αὐτῷ ὁ Νομὸς, καὶ αἱ Προφηταί, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων, οὐ μικρὰν ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν ἐν αὐτοῖς λεγόμενα. See Hody; p. 193.

Pag. 332. F. Houbigant inserts במדבר; and has the authority of the MS, which is call'd *Cod. Orator.* 54. In the Benedictine edition of Jerom (tom. 1, col. 275) there is a curious note upon this passage; which tells us, that במדבר was found in *vetustis & optimis nonnullis MSstis*. The note observes also — *exemplaria Hebraica Hieronymi aliquâ sui parte fuisse mutila; quia si fuisset in eis versiculus Jos. 21, 36, Latine illum Hieronymus reddidisset; & in antiquioribus editionis Latinae codicibus reperiretur, in quibus abest.*

Pag. 342. As the critics have frequently suppos'd, that the improper conjunction of the skins of MSS has occasion'd great transpositions; and yet, as perhaps no proof from fact of such a transposition has been yet produc'd;

Post tempora Ant. Epiphanis, cum Prophetarum lectio in synagogis Canaaniticis esset instituta; Alexandrinæ synagogæ eandem Prophetarum lectionem videntur recepisse — & maxime necessaria quoque erat Prophetarum interpretatio Græca, si eorum lectio (apud Alexandrinos) cum fructu celebraretur.

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I shall mention one, which I lately discover'd in the Bodleian library. In p. 518, three large rolls are said to contain the Pentateuch; but they are found to want from *Exod.* 12, 28 to 17, 9. The verses (amounting to 139) which are wanting between the rolls 5748 and 5749, are contain'd in another roll, N° 5752; which has been separated by some former Librarian, and is titled on the back *Volumen parvum continens lectiones aliquot Biblicas*: whereas the *Lectiones Biblicæ* or *Haphtaroth* were never taken out of the Pentateuch. This little roll consists of 2 skins; one containing from *Exod.* 12, 38 to 14, 28; and the other from *Exod.* 14, 28 to 17, 9: and yet, this last skin is sew'd up (not *after*, but) *before* the first. So that *Exod.* ch. 17 is now follow'd by *Exod.* ch. 12; and here is a *transposition made of 75 verses*. The reader is desir'd to insert a reference to this passage in p. 518, at MS 7; and also at N° 7, in the following catalogue of *Exodus*.

Pag. 351, 11. Thus also Grabe: for he says (De vitiis LXX, p. 24) *Philo ibi verba juxta Hebræum textum posuisse videtur*.

Pag. 355. *The Oriental writers date the Syriac version so high as the first century. And shall we reject their testimony, in a case, in which they only can give it?* Michael. Lectures on the New Testament; sect. 49.

Pag. 366, 6. See *Cappell. Crit. sacr.* p. 343.

Pag. 375, ult. In F. Simon's *Crit. History* we read (p. 18) *Vau, pro scribarum arbitratu, modo omiffam, modo additam, existimat Aben Efra, rei critica peritus*. Thus, as to this very word; in *Pf.* 18, 39, what is printed יכלו is in several MSS יוכלו; and on the contrary, in *Jof.* 15, 63, the word יוכלו is in all the Bodleian MSS except one יכלו; the ו being inserted improperly in the later MSS and printed copies, and being rejected as improper even by the Masora.

Pag. 386, 1. Jerom; *tom.* 4, *col.* 437.

Pag. 387, 25. Mr Scholtz of Berlin (whose father is one of the Chaplains to HIS PRUSSIAN MAJESTY) having lately inform'd me, that Dr Jablonsky was dead, and that his father had been Jablonsky's intimate acquaintance, wrote from England to know what was become of this MS of Masius. And he has favour'd me with the following answer --- that *neither the late Dr Jablonsky, nor his father, ever possess'd or saw that MS; but that it was in the hands of Dr LENT, as appear'd from Grabe's Sept. Prolegom. tom.* 4, *cap.* 4, §. 9. This answer surpriz'd me; as I had plac'd this MS with Jablonsky, upon the authorities of Dr Lee the editor of Grabe's 2d part, and of

Breitinger the republisher of the whole. Dr *Lee* says --- *Hujus codicis, anxie quæsitæ a Græbio, USUM tandem obtinuit ille ipse, qui primus hujusce notitiam ei præbuerat, JABLONSKIUS. Per virum igitur hunc, si quid huic editioni defuit, id omne ex codicis istius impressione abunde supplendum esse sperandum est. Cap. 3, §. 2.* And *Breitinger*, in his preface to the 3d part, says -- *JABLONSKIUM publico nomine compello atque obtestor, ut pretiosissimi sui (olim Masiani) codicis editionem jam per 25 annos desideratam maturare, & vel ipse publicæ luci donare, vel nobis ejus usum concedere velit.* And yet, notwithstanding these notices; *Græbe* himself, in his *Prolegomena* to the 4th part (which part was the 2d in publication) had previously said --- *Literas accipiebam a Dan, Ernesto JABLONSKI --- quibus mihi significabat, ubi Masii codex asservaretur; in vico nempe quodam haud procul HERBORNÆ Nassoviorum inter libros doctoris LENTII &c.* As these informations are so different, I have requested my friend Mr *Scholtz* to get a particular account of this MS from *Professor Rau*, at *Herborn*; which is the place specified by *Græbe* himself, Could this MS be consulted; it would probably be found to join its authority against the many verses suppos'd spurious in *Samuel*. For this

this MS very remarkably confirms the authority of the Vatican Septuagint; since Morinus says * --- *Quicquid in Syro (Masiano) est notatum asterisco, ab editione Romana abest: quicquid in eo notatum est obelo, eidem adest rarissime* --- which last words should perhaps be, as the sense requires, *ab eodem (or eidem) abest rarissime*. If therefore, almost all the obelized passages in this Syr. MS are found in the Vat. Septuagint, and if the passages asterisc'd in this Syr. MS are not found in the Vat. Septuagint; 'tis highly probable, that the verses in 1 Sam. 17 and 18, which are not found in the Vat. Septuagint, are asterisc'd in this Syr. MS. And if they are asterisc'd in this MS; they were probably inserted with an asterisc by Origen. And if they were inserted in the Gr. version by Origen; they were probably not in the Gr. version before. And if they were not originally in the Gr. version; 'tis very probable, they were not originally in the Heb. text.

Pag. 409, 13. The contrary is asserted by Michaelis; Lect. New Testam. sect. 21.

Pag. 442, 3. Wolfius observes, in his preface to his *Bibliotheca Hebræa* (pag. 28) that the Jews affirm the Mishnah to have been written 316 years before the Gemara of Babylon,

* *De Heb. & Græc. tex. sinceritate*; l. 1, ex. 9, cap. 4. §. 7.
bylon,

bylon, and that the Jerusalem Gemara was 83 years before the other Gemara.

Pag. 445, 10. See Houbig. *Prolegom.* p. 8.

Pag. 447, 9. See Wolf. *Biblioth. Heb.* 4, 93.

Pag. 474, 7; 475, 18. This Venice edition was publish'd in 1518. But the Complutensian, tho' then printed, was not publish'd till 4 or 6 years after. Blanchini (*Evang.* part 1, p. 495) says, *post annum 1522*: and Michaelis (*Leet. New Test.* sect. 33) says, *it was not sold publickly till 1524*.

Pag. 493. Between the lines 17 and 18 may be added *Mr Langford's objections* to (Mr Mann's) *Critical Notes*. See pag. 2, 8, 32.

Pag. 519, 14. This MS should be mark'd *Hib.* or *Hibern.* as well as the MS before it. And in line 17, the MS may be catalogued 7350, *tom.* 2; it being express'd with that general number in the 2d volume of the Bodleian catalogue. Thus also the first MS, in pag. 520, may be mark'd 7347, *tom.* 2. The MS, N° 44, contains *Exra* before *Nehemiab.* In pag. 521, N° 68 should be mark'd M m 5, 27: N° 74 should be mark'd R 8, 6; and N° 77 is both 5710 and 5711.

Pag. 536, 20. The note of St Jerom upon this text is --- *Johannes evangelista, Hebræus ex Hebræis, non magnopere curavit quid Græce*
literæ

literæ continerent; sed verbum interpretatus e verbo est, ut in HEBRÆO legerat.

Pag. 538. A great mistake is here made, in describing the *first* Samar. MS as wanting only 29 verses at the beginning and end. Whereas the upper and inner corners of the leaves (with several words) are lost from *Gen.* 1, 20 to 15, 1: and it is also defective in the following parts of *Deuteronomy*; from 5, 25 to 6, 2; from 6, 24 to 7, 5; from 9, 25 to 9, 28; from 11, 12 to 11, 25; from 14, 8 to 16, 15; from 24, 15 to 26, 13; from 29, 12 to 29, 20; and from 31, 12 to 32, 34.

Pag. 541. This famous MS was seen also by Maundrell, in 1697; see pag. 62. And in p. 60, that learned traveller has observ'd, in vindication of the Samaritans from the imputations of the Jews --- *That their religion consists in the adoration of a calf, as the Jews give out, seems to have more of spite than of truth in it.*

As there are some deficiencies in our MSS, which could not well be specified in the concluding catalogue, under the several books in which such deficiencies are found; they may be enumerated here, and referr'd to in the catalogue at the end. Under *Samuel*; N° 21 wants from 1 *Sam.* 4, 16 to 1 *Sam.* 5, 10. Under

der *Chronicles*; N° 16 wants from 2 *Chro.* 23, 8 to 25, 4; and from 34, 15 to 35, 19. N° 29 begins at 1 *Chro.* 2, 21; and ends at 2 *Chro.* 36, 12: it also wants from 1 *Chro.* 7, 26 to 8, 40; from 2 *Chro.* 20, 6 to 20, 30; and from 25, 3 to 25, 23. Under *Nehemiah*; N° 29 wants from 9, 17 to 10, 40; and from 11, 32 to 12, 38. Under *Psalms*; N° 16 wants from 46, 10 to 52, 9. And N° 29 wants from 14, 7 to 18, 11; also from 78, 63 to 81, 8. Under *Isaiab*; N° 68 contains from 24, 2 to 43, 10; but transpos'd: and in the same MS there is another transposition from ch. 15 to ch. 29, in *Jeremiah*. Under *Exodus*; N° 12 contains (does not want) from 5, 8 to 40, 19. To all which remarks it may be added; that at the bottom of *Ruth*, and the other parts of the *Hagiographa*, there is subjoin'd the curious copy at *Eton*, tho' printed; because it contains more various readings than some MSS: and therefore such of the learned, as may choose to collate the Heb. MSS, will by no means leave that printed copy unconsulted.

And now, at the conclusion of this Dissertation; I beg leave to entreat the Reader, that he will consider thoroughly the importance of the present subject, the nature of the evidence
here

here produc'd, and the use proper to be made of it. The subject is no less than an attempt to point out the means of ascertaining the genuine words of that REVELATION, which GOD made to the Jews; which however was written, not for that nation only, but also for the benefit of the whole Christian world.

If the happiness or misery of mankind be necessarily connected with their obedience or disobedience to the will of THE ALMIGHTY; what great care should be taken, that the will of THE ALMIGHTY, when proclaim'd from Heaven, be accurately preserv'd in the words of the original; and from thence be faithfully translated, and clearly explain'd, in the modern languages! Certainly, the most solid judgment, the most masterly skill, and the most sacred regard to truth, should conjointly be applied, in freeing *holy Scripture* from every mistake of transcribers and of printers: that so nothing may intrude there, which may derogate from the dignity of an inspir'd volume; nothing, which may introduce contradiction, absurdity, or even obscurity, to obstruct the religious enquiries of its *friends*; nothing, which may furnish matter of triumph, at least of cavil, to its *enemies*.

The present Eng. version is much better,

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in general, than the versions in the days of Queen Elizabeth; and yet there are instances, in which the older Eng. versions are evidently preferable. How astonishing is it, that our present Bible should declare Christ to have been *without sin*, and yet call him a *malefactor*! For, is not that the necessary sense of the words in *Luk. 23, 32*? — *there were also two other malefactors led with him to be put to death*. The error arises only from the want of two points; the Greek reading *ἑτεροι δυο κακαργοι* &c. instead of *ἑτεροι δυο, κακαργοι*, &c. And so the English reads *two other malefactors* &c. instead of *two others, malefactors*, &c. Yet the latter was the sense of the Eng. version in 1583 --- *and there were two others, which were evil doers, led with him to be slain*.

As to errors in our version of the old Testament; what vast improvements have been made, in translating many parts of the printed Heb. text, during the last 150 years: for there have been no less than 150 years, since the whole was last translated into English! But, not to insist here on the instances of *300 foxes being tied tail to tail* (*Jud. 15, 4*) instead of *300 sheaves of corn placed end to end*;* nor on Eli-

* See the note of the learned Dr Gregory Sharpe, in his edition of *Holberg's Introduction to universal History*, under the account of *Samson*.

jah's being fed with bread and flesh by ravens (1 Kin. 17, 6) instead of his being fed with these by (Orbim) the inhabitants of Oreb or Orbo :¹ not to enlarge here on these points (which are mention'd in the *Memoirs of Literature*, 1710) nor indeed on any other modern improvements however valuable ; I shall take particular notice only of one. What distress have thousands of serious and thinking men felt, in reading the 109th Psalm ; in which 'tis generally suppos'd, that David utter'd such horrid curses upon his enemies ! And yet, when the Psalm is consider'd ; it clearly contains the curses of David's enemies upon David.² For, the curses are not against many, but one person only : and besides, both in the beginning and end of the Psalm, David complains of the dreadful things spoken against him by others --- *The mouth of the ungodly, the mouth of the deceitful, is opened upon me : they have spoken against me with false tongues ; they have compassed me about with words of hatred.* And, after reciting the imprecations of his enemies, he adds --- *though*

¹ Orbim, *accula villa in finibus Arabum, Elias dederunt alimenta.* Jerom 3, 119.

² For this remark the Reader is indebted to the late Dr Sykes ; who has given it, in the preface to his comment on the epistle to the Hebrews.

THEY CURSE, *yet bleſs thou*. Perhaps it may be ſtill objected; that David ſeems to make theſe curſes his own, by ſaying in ver. 19 --- *Let it thus happen from the Lord unto mine enemies*. But, as there is no word here expreſſive of a wiſh in the Hebrew; perhaps the words ſhould be render'd --- *This is the behaviour of mine adverſaries, with reſpect to (or with) Jehovah*. The compound particle מִנִּי is render'd *on the behalf of*, in *Exod. 27, 21*. But if it be thought preferable to render the words, *This is the behaviour of mine adverſaries (or of thoſe who accuſe me) before Jehovah*; מִנִּי is render'd *ενωπιον*, in *Lev. 24, 8*.

I mention theſe few, out of many inſtances of miſtranſlation; in order to prepare the way for one of the chief inferences from the preceding Diſſertation. For if the preſent Eng. verſion is ſo faulty, as to make a reformation of it extreamly deſireable; *what ſort of Heb. text* is to be the rule of right, or the ſtandard, by which ſuch a reformation is to be conducted? Muſt we proceed again, and for ever, to tranſlate from the Heb. text, as it is now printed; merely becauſe it is printed? Muſt we contribute to *perpetuate* the many corruptions in this text? --- a text, form'd upon no one knows what particular MS or MSS; excepting

cepting, that it is found to agree only with such MSS, as are *the latest and the worst*; with MSS, which contain various instances of error and nonsense, from which the older MSS now extant are free!

But, setting aside the consideration of *new versions*; must there be still publish'd *new editions* of a book the most ancient of all others, and of all books the most venerable and important, one only excepted; without allowing to it a privilege, which is readily allow'd to all other ancient books in the world i. e. *a collation of MSS*? Especially as it is a book, in which several of its letters, being very similar, are more likely to be mistaken; and in which the mistake of a single letter makes a difference in the sense far greater than perhaps in any other language. 'Tis a just cause of astonishment, and would be incredible without proofs of its possibility, that any Christians, who pretend to be Scholars, should hold it matter of duty, to reverence all the errors introduc'd by transcribers and printers; declaring war against those, who assert the existence of mistakes in the printed copies: and all this, notwithstanding the printed copies themselves are contradictory to one another! *I am amazed*, says Michaelis (*sect. 34*)
when

when I hear some men vindicate our common readings with as much zeal, as if the editors had been inspired by the holy Ghost!

The truth is: it has been look'd upon by many as one point of *Protestantism*, to hold the perfection of the Heb. and Gr. originals; ever since the champions of *Popery* pronounc'd the *Lat. version* authentic. But, as the learned in the church of Rome now see and own the necessity of giving up, or explaining away, the authenticity of that version; * so do learned Protestants also, in the general, see and own some mistakes in the printed copies of the originals. And it would be strange indeed; if, whilst the former ingenuously renounce the error of their forefathers, the latter should be less ready to sacrifice to Truth. Especially, when Protestants are only exhorted to renounce an error, in following implicitly a very blind tradition: a tradition --- that their copy of the *Heb. text now printed* is perfectly authentic, having been deliver'd down free from all mistake; tho' they cannot say how, nor why, nor where, nor from what MS or MSS, such printed copy has been taken!

* That some of the Papists did this, soon after the council of Trent; see *Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants*, chap. 2. §. 74, &c.

But

But what is it that we contend for, against these rigid adherents to a tradition so wild and indefensible? Will they, dare they say; that we mean to assert, or pretend to discover any authority from MSS, for subverting any one article of *faith*, or *duty*, at present enjoined? *Do we then make void the Law* by these MSS? *God forbid: yea, we establish the Law.* For, there is an absolute necessity of collating MSS, in order to a good edition of any ancient author; as has been explain'd, and prov'd by several eminent writers: * and the learned are now agreed, that *the printed editions of ancient authors are more or less perfect, as more or fewer MSS have been consulted.* Certainly then; that, which *establishes* the authenticity of other ancient books, cannot *destroy* that of the books of Revelation. Fears of bad consequences must be groundless, where hopes of great advantages have so solid a foundation. Take any one, take the most faulty Heb. MS in the world; and I humbly presume, it will be found to contain the same Bible in the main, and teach the same great doctrines and duties as are taught at present.

* Walton's *Confrater Consider'd*; p. 92, 126, 130, 131, 149 &c. Sykes's *Nat. and Rev. Religion*; p. 267 — 273. Bentley's *Phileteuth. Lipsiens.* Remark 32d. &c.

Things absolutely necessary are express'd frequently. The *ten Commandments* are all recorded twice; some oftner. So that a mistake in some copies, even in *such* places, might be corrected by the true reading in other copies: and should there be a mistake in *all* the later copies, in a word or two of any one *Commandment*; yet the same *Commandment* being repeated in the original, and express'd twice in the ancient versions, such mistake would be clearly discoverable. *

But then, tho' the most corrupted MSS contain the same Bible in the main; will it therefore be asserted, that the Heb. text should be printed from MSS *the most corrupted*? Should there be but a bare suspicion, that *better MSS might be found* than those already made use of; with what zeal should serious men labour to procure them? But if MSS, better than those yet printed, *are actually discover'd*; MSS, which reconcile one part of the old Testament to another; which reconcile the old Testament to the new; which il-

* *Frustra itaque dicunt, quia nullum exemplar sit omnino purum, ergo nusquam esse sacram Scripturam. Imo vero nullum tam mendosum est exemplar, quod non pro sana Scriptura debeat haberi. Abunde & copiose e quibusvis sacrorum librorum codicibus omnia, ad salutem & fidem necessaria, possunt hauriri. Voss. de LXX Interp. cap. 9.*

lustrate many places now obscure and unintelligible; which will correct many of the corruptions in the copies for 800, perhaps for 1000 years, last past; and which will confirm the authority of versions made from Heb. copies, 1500 and 2000 years ago: shall not SUCH MSS be consulted, shall they not be brought forth for public benefit with sincere thankfulness and veneration? It must be so. The honour of GOD, and the interest of Religion, require it at our hands.

At present *we have this treasure in earthen vessels*, mouldring away and perishing in MSS; some parts of which are already lost, or become absolutely illegible; whilst others are growing daily less and less capable of giving information. 'Tis therefore a duty pointed out, and it seems an honour meant by Providence to *the present age*, above the ages that have gone before or shall follow after, to perform this great work of correcting the printed text of the Heb. Bible. MSS could not be us'd, before they were discover'd; nor can they be us'd, after they are destroy'd by time. Learning and good sense, and also valuable editions of the ancient versions, have happily prepar'd the way for such a work at present. And tho' *posterity*, by the discovery of other
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MSS,

MSS, may contribute more light; yet must not LIGHT be dear and valuable to OURSELVES? The assistance, offer'd by the present MSS, will render the Hebrew Scriptures more intelligible, more useful, and consequently more worthy of GOD; and let not *this* be withheld from the many millions of the *present* generation. Can we derive any advantage from the bare existence of what was meant, and of what was given, to be a public blessing? Most certainly, not. WISDOM, THAT IS HID; AND TREASURE, THAT IS HOARD-ED UP; WHAT PROFIT IS IN THEM BOTH? *Ecclus* 20, 30.

Till the Heb. MSS are examin'd, we cannot be sure of all the principles of the language. The very Grammar is not yet completely settled; because what is as yet done has been plann'd upon the *printed* copies; and certainly that critic, who follows a very corrupt guide, must fix many a wrong criterion. It was therefore justly remark'd by the renowned LUTHER--- *nativam phrasin Hebraei sermonis nondum in lucem prolatam esse*--- *in ea opinione sum, quod non habent Rabbini perfectam cognitionem Heb. Grammaticæ*--- *Judeorum Grammaticam vereor esse mutilam; ideo Rabbini sepe hallucinantur.* Hody; p. 553. And not only Rabbins, but Christians also,

must err greatly; if they form pronouns, fix the anomalies of verbs, and settle the bounds of right and wrong in Grammar, without a previous examination of Heb MSS: because *nothing but MSS* can ascertain the genuine idioms of an ancient and dead language. Here then, if we would ascertain, if we would understand properly, the Heb. Bible; here we must begin. A collation of its MSS must of necessity be the foundation; and then will the superstructure rise with a truly majestic grandeur; firm and unshaken by external violence, as well as just and harmonious in its own proportions.

It is not however pretended, that the present Heb. MSS will correct *all* the errors in the present text. But, what then? Shall we correct *nothing*, because we may not perhaps correct *every thing*? We can only use the means within our power: and for the proper use or neglect of these, we shall be, we must be, strictly accountable hereafter. If it was ever *particularly* necessary for the sacred light of Scripture to shine before men, with full and unclouded splendor; it is so in this age of irreligion and infidelity. For if *some do not believe*, and *the love of many waxeth cold*; then should *the truth of God much more abound*.

Perhaps the profess'd enemies of Christianity never were so numerous in Christian countries, as at present; and these eagerly lay hold of inaccuracies and absurdities in the printed copies of the Bible, for the sake of some pretence to insult and vilify it. Others there are, the reverse of the former in design; who, by attempting to spiritualize all, even the historical parts of the old Testament, and holding for sacred every error in the printed copies, build up error upon error; and thus injudiciously contribute to the disesteem of that very Book, which they themselves have in veneration. On account of men of this complexion, as well as the former; a close application to the Heb. language, and a sedulous endeavour to remove every mistake from the printed text, become the more necessary and indispensable in the teachers of Religion, those *stewards of the mysteries of God*. * And some of the happy consequences of such an application and

* The following is the powerful exhortation of LUTHER—
Linguas Hebræam Græcamque cum tanti fecerit Deus, ut easdem Verbo suo conservando, quo nihil sacrius, elegerit; par est, nos illas ipsas præ omnibus tractare & colere, quam poterimus, honorifice. Sæpe monui, Hebræam linguam disceretis. Serio vos hortor, ne eam negligatis. THEOLOGUS oportet esse munitos contra Papatum; & contra aliud hominum vulgus, qui, cum unam Heb. vocem sonare didicerunt, statim putant se magistros hujus sacræ linguæ. Arbitror habituros nos Religionis nostræ hostes plurimos; ibi certe cognitione Heb. linguæ opus erit. Scio enim quantum mihi

such an endeavour may be — that those believers, who err thro' zeal for want of knowledge, may be taught *to think soberly, as they ought to think*: and unbelievers may be silenced, perhaps be converted, when they learn that many of their objections have been only founded upon the blunders of transcribers; and so they, who in times past reviled, may reverence the holy Scriptures, and *glorify God on this behalf*.

That there are not wanting MSS of the Heb. Text, is certain; because I have mention'd the places of above 400. And that those MSS contain very many various readings, is also certain; since about 40 MSS contain some hundreds of variations, and that only in the space of 100 verses.* Let every MS therefore, which time has as yet left us, whether containing the whole or only part of the Heb. Bible, (for we should *gather up every valuable fragment, that nothing be lost*) let them be all examin'd with great care, and their various

contra meos hostes profuerit. Quare hac quantulacunque cognitione, INFINITIS MILLIBUS AUREORUM, carere nolim.

* If any man doubts this, let him examine for himself; and the catalogue here given at the end will shew him, at one view, how many MSS of each book of the Heb. Bible England contains — in what library — in what part of the library — what the size of each MS — in what page or leaf of the MS each book of the Bible begins — and whether it be perfect or defective.

readings be all publish'd with great exactness. And then will the learned be qualified, with regard to the *old* as well as the *new* Testament, to obey the apostolical injunction (ΠΑΝΤΑ ΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕΤΕ, ΤΟ ΚΑΛΟΝ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕ) *Prove all things, hold fast that which is good.* As to the propriety of examining *all* the MSS, and publishing *all* their variations; the 2 following quotations are judicious and satisfactory. Dr Eyre says to Cappellus --- *Omnino id probo, quod a te observatum est, fieri posse interdum ut codex, qui ut plurimum deterior est, alicubi habeat meliorem lectionem.* Crit. Sacr. pag. 633. And in Cappellanus we read (p. 95, 96) *Idem, minima Heb. literarum, non minorem habet vim quam quælibet alia. Si radicalis, ad thematis significationem non minus concurrit; si ministerialis, non minus verborum & nominum modos variat, unde etiam significationum modi pariter variantur. Viri doctissimi nihil in divinis Scripturis exiguum, sed omnia suum pondus habere existimant: quemadmodum AURIFICES (inquit Chrysostomus) ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΤΑΣ ΜΑΖΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΙΟΥ, ΑΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΜΙΚΡΑ ΨΗΓΜΑΤΑ, ΜΕΤΑ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΣΥΛΛΕΓΟΤΕΣΙΝ ΑΚΡΙΒΕΙΑΣ.*

A collation of the Heb. MSS, tho' it has not yet been perform'd, was much recommended in the last century; and even by some warm advocates for the printed Heb. text.

Bootius, in his epistle to Abp. Usher, says (p. 3) *Si Cappellus varias lectiones, ex Heb. exemplarium collatione, in medium attulisset, atque in unum comportasset; gratias ultro haberemus, tanquam pro labore utili & laudabili.* Walton says (*Prolegom.* p. 50) -- *Doctiss. Buxtorf. filius integrum librum magno studio composuit; in quo, non tantum ex omnibus libris impressis, sed & MStis plurimis, variantes lectiones collegit, & in corpus digessit, judiciumque suum de singulis adjecit: Opus, haecenus a nullo Christianorum tentatum.* This book was unfortunately suppress'd; the author probably not choosing to expose himself to the violent prejudices of his times. Walton himself adds to the account of Buxtorf's book --- *Plures itaque sunt istiusmodi codicum discrepantiae, quae ex variis MStis colligendae restant. --- Mendas irrepere posse quis non videt? quae tamen ex aliis codicibus, vel antiquis versionibus, & loci circumstantiis, emendare licet; ut saepius diximus.* Pag. 42. And, p. 80, as to the Samar. Pentateuch he says --- *Optandum, ut aliquis, cui otium & ingenium ad rem tantam aggrediendum suppetit, accurate discrepantias examinaret; & quenam ex scribarum errore, quenam ex codicum Heb. varietate ortae sint, distingueret. Certe qui hoc opus perficeret, magnam a grata posteritate laudem reportaret.* Hottinger says ---

Hæc una nobis superesse videtur ἀποφῶν, ut tam ex Masoreticis notis, quam aliis contextus sacri codicibus vetustis, colligerentur variae lectiones. Extant codices in bibliothecis; sed tanquam ad carceres, & tenebras æternas, damnati. ¹ *Leecher's exhortation is very strong --- Equidem regium & æterna laude dignum opus præstaret Princeps quispiam, si (suppeditatis necessariis sumptibus) curaret codices synagogicos orbis universi colligi; atque ex illis fontes Ebræos demuo recenseri: ita sane cavillis sciolorum occurri, & res illa omnis, quantum philologice fieri potest, ad demonstrationis artem reduci posset.* ² *The last quotation, and it is worthy of particular attention, shall be from Dr Lee's Prolegomena to the 2d vol. of Grabe's Sept. cap. 1. § 30. Priusquam quicquam positivi statuatur in hac collatione textuum, de Hebræi Græcique textus sinceritate; consulendi sunt codices Heb. MSti. Nam plurimi sane sunt in bibliothecis codices MSti satis veteres; inter quos præcipue recensendi sunt codices Hebræo-Samaritani. Nulla ratio vel fingi potest, ubi variae lectiones adhuc comparent, quare uni libro adhæreamus, alterum respuamus, sine ullo iudicio, ideo tantum quia hodierni Judæi ita scribunt. --- Quum ergo multæ sint in textu Hebræo variae lectiones; quis quæso negare potest OPTIMUM FACTUM esse,*

¹ *Bibliothecar. p. 157, 159.*

² *De causis ling. Heb. p. 445.*

ut omnes veteres codices Hebraei & Hebræo-Samaritani inter se conferantur, eorumque differentia notentur. — Such have been the exhortations of those, who were convinc'd only by *the reasonableness of the thing*, and their knowledge of *some variations in a few MSS.* With what earnestness then would they have press'd this point; had they known, what numerous MSS and what numerous Variations actually existed! *They wanted our knowledge; let not us want their zeal.*

A new Eng. version (so greatly and so justly desir'd) cannot well be undertaken, till the printed Heb. text shall have been corrected; and therefore the Heb. MSS cannot be collated too soon: especially, as the consequence of the Heb. text itself, independent of this version, renders such a collation necessary. And let us not forget, that the *new Testament* quotes from the *old* several passages; *some* of which are not only not the same in words, but not the same in sense. Here then the Infidels triumph; and say with Mr Collins, *These passages, being confessedly right in the old Testament, must be wrong in the new.* Thus triumph also the Jews. A Latin MS of *Jacob Aben Anram* was presented to Balliol College by Bp Kidder; who says, *I take it to be the great-*

est effort against Christianity, that I ever saw. And this Jew insists, (§ 993 &c.) that *the old Testament is perversely quoted in the new*; he therefore reviles Christ and his Apostles: and he says (§ 485) *the perfection of the Heb. text is granted by Christians themselves.* But this dangerous concession is now withdrawn; not, because it is *dangerous*, but because it is *not true*. For, the Heb. text is corrupted. The MSS vary greatly from one another, and from the printed copies; and in *some* places, where the printed Heb. copies *differ* from the new Testament, even the present Heb. MSS are found to *agree* with it.

If then Infidels and Jews *stand up*, and take counsel together against the Lord and against his Anointed; let no Christians support their scheme. Let not us join with Collins and Aben Amram, to weaken the authority of the writers of the *new* Testament, by maintaining the infallibility of the transcribers of the *old*. No: let us examine the Heb. MSS; let us correct the corruptions in the printed Heb. text; and thus vindicate the old and the new Testaments. In short: the credit of both volumes of Revelation, the interest of our holy Religion, the more successful instruction of Christians, and the more effectual conviction of Unbelievers, all join with one loud voice to

recommend and to demand it. And as ENGLAND, containing more Heb. MSS than any other Nation, is better qualified to set the laudable example; where, but in ENGLAND, should this work be first undertaken? Here the *new* Testament has been most illustrated by various readings collected from the Gr. MSS. And if the Heb. MSS should be *first* collated here likewise; what accumulated honour would redound to our Church and Nation! And, in a Nation so highly favour'd by divine Providence; what nobler tribute can *we render unto the Lord for all his benefits*, than to rescue his sacred Oracles from the errors introduc'd by the mistakes of men? *Every word of God was at first pure.* Let us therefore *take away the dross from the silver*; let us separate *the precious from the vile*. And could we remove every corruption from *the scriptures of truth*; we might declare, with an holy triumph, in favour of our *printed* copies; that in *them* --- *The law of the Lord is PERFECT; converting the soul: The testimony of the Lord is SURE; making wise the simple: The statutes of the Lord are RIGHT; rejoicing the heart: The commandments of the Lord are PURE; enlightning the eyes: The judgments of the Lord are TRUE; and righteous altogether.* To strive to accomplish this great point, to reverence

the books of holy Scripture, and to give them in the most perfect manner to the world ; these things must be matters of duty with men, for these are the commands of GOD. *Keep therefore and do them : for this is your wisdom and your understanding, in the sight of the nations ; which shall hear and say : Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people.*

To conclude. When the sentences, words and letters, now taken from the sacred Heb. volume, shall be restor'd ; when those, now interpolated, shall be remov'd ; when those, now transpos'd or alter'd, shall be corrected ; when those now grown obscure, shall be made clear ; and the Whole again appear perfectly worthy of its DIVINE ORIGIN :

*Then shall its doctrine drop, as the rain ;
And its speech shall distill, as the dew :
As the small rain upon the tender herb ;
And as the showers upon the grass.*

*Then shall the rough places be made plain,
And the crooked shall be made straight ;
And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed,
And all flesh shall see it together :
For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.*



GENESIS MSS XLI.

בראשית ברא (ch. 50) — end — במצרים

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|----------|--------------------------|-----------|---------------|-------------------|
| 1 | Bodleian Libry. | No. 471 | — Fol. leaf 1 | begins at 27, 31. |
| 2 | Bodleian Libry. | No. 3198 | — 4to leaf 1 | wants from 24. |
| 3 | Bodleian Libry. | No. 5350 | — 4to leaf 1 | [16 to 25, 22. |
| 4 | Bodleian Libry. | No. 5945 | — Fol. pag. 1 | begins 34, 21. |
| 5 | Bodleian Libry. | No. 1262 | — Fol. leaf 1 | _____ |
| 6 | Bodleian Libry. | No. 5349 | — 4to leaf 2 | _____ |
| 7 | Bodleian Libry. | No. 5748 | — Roll | _____ |
| 8 | Bodleian Libry. | No. 5949 | — Fol. leaf 1 | _____ |
| 9 | Bodleian Libry. | _____ | — Roll | _____ |
| 10 | Bodleian Libry. | No. 2131 | — Fol. pag. 1 | _____ |
| 12 | Bodleian Libry. | Hib. 978 | — 12° leaf 1 | begins at 4, 20; |
| 16 | Bodleian Libry. | No. 2878 | — Fol. leaf 1 | [ends 36, 7. |
| 17 | Bodleian Libry. | No. 5233 | — Fol. leaf 1 | _____ |
| 18 | Bodleian Libry. | No. 5356 | — 8vo pag. 1 | _____ |
| 55 | Corpus College | W B 4, 7 | — Fol. leaf 1 | _____ |
| 60 | Jesus College | No. 11 | — Fol. pag. 1 | _____ |
| 63 | Lincoln College | _____ | — Roll | _____ |
| 65 | Oriel College | No. 72 | — Fol. leaf 1 | begins at 1, 24. |
| 66 | Dr Barton, Christ-Church | _____ | — 12° pag. 1 | _____ |
| 68 | Cambridge Lib. | M m 5, 27 | — 4to pag. 1 | _____ |
| 73 | Emanuel Coll. | No. 1, 27 | — Fol. leaf 1 | _____ |
| 75 | British Museum Har. | 1528 | — Fol. leaf 1 | _____ |
| 76 | British Museum Har. | 5498 | — 8vo pag. 1 | _____ |
| 77 | British Museum Har. | 5710 | — Fol. pag. 1 | _____ |
| 78 | British Museum Har. | 5586 | — Fol. pag. 1 | _____ |
| 79 | British Museum Har. | 5772 | — 4to pag. 1 | _____ |
| 80 | British Museum Har. | 7619 | — Roll | _____ |
| 83 | British Museum Har. | 7621 | — 4to pag. 1 | _____ |
| 84 | British Museum Har. | 5709 | — 4to pag. 1 | _____ |
| 85 | British Museum Har. | 5773 | — 4to pag. 1 | _____ |
| 86 | British Museum Har. | 1861 | — 4to leaf 1 | _____ |
| 99 | British Museum D. Costa | 1 | — Roll | _____ |
| 100 | Brit. Museum D. Costa | 2 | — 4to leaf 1 | _____ |
| 103 | Royal Society | No. _____ | — 4to leaf 1 | begins at 6, 20. |
| 1 Samar. | Bodleian | No. 3127 | — Fol. pag. 1 | begins at 1, 21. |
| 2 Samar. | Bodleian | No. 3128 | — 4to pag. 1 | see page 538. |

GENESIS continued.

- | | | | | |
|---|------------------------------|-----|--------|---------------|
| 3 | Samar. Bodleian No. 3129 — | 4to | pag. 1 | see page 538. |
| 4 | Samar. Bodleian No. 624 — | 4to | leaf 1 | _____ |
| 5 | Samar. Bodleian Marsh 15 — | 12° | leaf 1 | _____ |
| 6 | Samar. Bodleian No. 5328 — | 24° | leaf 1 | _____ |
| 7 | Samar. Br. Mus. Claud. B 8 — | 4to | leaf 1 | _____ |

EXODUS MSS XLIII.

: ואלה שמות מסעיהם end — (ch. 40) — beginning

- | | | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|------|----------|-----------------|
| 1 | Bodleian Libry. No. 471 — | Fol. | leaf 21 | _____ |
| 2 | Bodleian Libry. No. 3198 — | 4to | leaf 22 | _____ |
| 3 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5350 — | 4to | leaf 30 | _____ |
| 4 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5945 — | Fol. | pag. 18 | _____ |
| 5 | Bodleian Libry. No. 1262 — | Fol. | leaf 69 | _____ |
| 6 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5349 — | 4to | leaf 131 | _____ |
| 7 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5748, 5749 — | Roll | | _____ |
| 8 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5949 — | Fol. | leaf 50 | _____ |
| 9 | Bodleian Libry. — — | Roll | | _____ |
| 11 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5359 — | 12° | pag. 1 | _____ |
| 12 | Bodleian Libry. Hib. 978 — | 12° | leaf 71 | wants from 5, 8 |
| 16 | Bodleian Libry. No. 2878 — | Fol. | leaf 54 | [to 40, 19. |
| 17 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5233 — | Fol. | leaf 64 | _____ |
| 18 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5356 — | 8vo | pag. 78 | wants from |
| 55 | Corpus College W B 4, 7 — | Fol. | leaf 38 | [40, 14. |
| 60 | Jesus College No. 11 — | Fol. | pag. 135 | _____ |
| 63 | Lincoln College — — | Roll | | _____ |
| 65 | Oriel College No. 72 — | Fol. | leaf 36 | _____ |
| 66 | Dr Barton, Christ-Church — | 12° | pag. 103 | _____ |
| 68 | Cambridge Lib. M m 5, 27 — | 4to | pag. 61 | _____ |
| 73 | Emanuel Coll. No. 1, 27 — | Fol. | leaf 38 | _____ |
| 75 | British Museum Har. 1528 — | Fol. | leaf 36 | _____ |
| 76 | British Museum Har. 5498 — | 8vo | pag. 57 | _____ |
| 77 | British Museum Har. 5710 — | Fol. | pag. 68 | _____ |
| 78 | British Museum Har. 5586 — | Fol. | pag. 83 | _____ |
| 79 | British Museum Har. 5772 — | 4to | pag. 111 | _____ |
| 80 | British Museum Har. 7619 — | Roll | | [ends 40, 8. |
| 81 | British Museum Har. 5683 — | 4to | pag. 3 | begins 18, 22; |
| 82 | British Museum Har. 5706 — | Fol. | pag. 1 | begins 6, 23. |
| 83 | British Museum Har. 7621 — | 4to | pag. 152 | _____ |

EXODUS continued.

84	British Museum Har. 5709	— 4to pag. 121	_____
85	British Museum Har. 5773	— 4to pag. 83	_____
86	British Museum Har. 1861	— 4to leaf 54	_____
99	British Museum D. Costa 1	— Roll	_____
100	Brit. Museum D. Costa 2	— 4to leaf 34	_____
103	Royal Society No.	— 4to leaf 65	_____
1	Samar. Bodleian No. 3127	— Fol. pag. 103	_____
2	Samar. Bodleian No. 3128	— 4to pag. 122	see p. 538.
3	Samar. Bodleian No. 3129	— 4to pag. 78	see p. 538.
4	Samar. Bodleian No. 624	— 4to leaf 49	_____
5	Samar. Bodleian Marsh 15	— 12° leaf 74	_____
6	Samar. Bodleian No. 5328	— 24° leaf 30	_____
7	Samar. Br. Mus. Claud. B 8	— 4to leaf 64	_____

LEVITICUS MSS XLI.

ויקרא אל משה beginning (ch. 27) — end בדר סיני:

1	Bodleian Libry. No. 471	— Fol. leaf 55	_____
2	Bodleian Libry. No. 3198	— 4to leaf 41	_____
3	Bodleian Libry. No. 5350	— 4to leaf 55	_____
4	Bodleian Libry. No. 5945	— Fol. pag. 65	_____
5	Bodleian Libry. No. 1262	— Fol. leaf 127	_____
6	Bodleian Libry. No. 5349	— 4to leaf 243	_____
7	Bodleian Libry. No. 5749, 5750	— Roll	_____
8	Bodleian Libry. No. 5949	— Fol. leaf 91	_____
9	Bodleian Libry. —	— Roll	_____
13	Bodleian Libry. No. 5948	— 4to pag. 1	_____
16	Bodleian Libry. No. 2878, 2879	Fol. leaf 96	_____
17	Bodleian Libry. No. 5233	— Fol. leaf 113	_____
18	Bodleian Libry. No. 5356	— 8vo p. 144	begins at 1, 13.
55	Corpus College W B 4, 7	— Fol. leaf 70	_____
60	Jesus College No. 12	— Fol. pag. 1	_____
63	Lincoln College —	— Roll	_____
65	Oriel College No. 72	— Fol. leaf 68	_____
66	Dr Barton, Christ-Church	— 12° pag. 182	_____
68	Cambridge Lib. M m 5, 27	— 4to pag. 111	_____
73	Emanuel Coll. No. 1, 27	— Fol. leaf 70	_____
75	British Museum Har. 1528	— Fol. leaf 58	_____
76	British Museum Har. 5498	— 8vo pag. 103	_____

LEVITICUS continued.

77	British Museum Har. 5710	—	Fol. pag. 125	—
78	British Museum Har. 5586	—	Fol. pag. 154	—
79	British Museum Har. 5772	—	4to pag. 209	—
80	British Museum Har. 7619	—	Roll	—
81	British Museum Har. 5683	—	4to p. 61 begins at 8, 28.	—
82	British Museum Har. 5706	—	Fol. pag. 92	—
83	British Museum Har. 7621	—	4to pag. 284	—
84	British Museum Har. 5709	—	4to pag. 224	—
85	British Museum Har. 5773	—	4to pag. 156	—
86	British Museum Har. 1861	—	4to leaf 98	—
99	British Museum D. Costa 1	—	Roll	—
100	Brit. Museum D. Costa 2	—	4to leaf 64	—
103	Royal Society No.	—	4to leaf 125	—
1	Samar. Bodleian No. 3127	—	Fol. pag. 193	—
3	Samar. Bodleian No. 3129	—	4to pag. 154	see page 538.
4	Samar. Bodleian No. 624	—	4to leaf 89	—
5	Samar. Bodleian Marsh 15	—	12° leaf 130	—
6	Samar. Bodleian No. 5328	—	24° leaf 59	—
7	Samar. Br. Mus. Claud. B 8	—	4to leaf 120	—

NUMBERS MSS XLIII.

: ודבר יהוה end — (ch. 36) — beginning על ירדן ירדו:

1	Bodleian Libry. No. 471	—	Fol. leaf 78	—
2	Bodleian Libry. No. 3198	—	4to leaf 56	—
3	Bodleian Libry. No. 5350	—	4to leaf 73	—
4	Bodleian Libry. No. 5945	—	Fol. pag. 98	—
5	Bodleian Libry. No. 1262	—	Fol. leaf 167	—
6	Bodleian Libry. No. 5349	—	4to leaf 323	—
7	Bodleian Libry. No. 5750	—	Roll	—
8	Bodleian Libry. No. 5949	—	Fol. leaf 117	—
9	Bodleian Libry.	—	Roll	—
13	Bodleian Libry. No. 5948	—	4to pag. 68	—
14	Bodleian Libry. No. 5246	—	8vo leaf 1 begins at 4, 44	—
16	Bodleian Libry. No. 2879	—	Fol. leaf 126	—
17	Bodleian Libry. No. 5233	—	Fol. leaf 149	—
18	Bodleian Libry. No. 5356	—	8vo pag. 189	—
55	Corpus College W B 4, 7	—	Fol. pag. 92	—
60	Jesus College No. 12	—	Fol. pag. 81	—

NUMBERS continued.

63	Lincoln College	—	—	Roll	—	—
65	Oriel College	No. 72	—	Fol. leaf	89	—
66	Dr Barton, Christ-Church	—	12°	pag.	239	—
68	Cambridge Lib.	M m 5, 27	—	4to	pag.	145
73	Emanuel Coll.	No. 1, 27	—	Fol. leaf	92	—
75	British Museum	Har. 1528	—	Fol. leaf	73	—
76	British Museum	Har. 5498	—	8vo	pag.	140
77	British Museum	Har. 5710	—	Fol. pag.	165	—
78	British Museum	Har. 5586	—	Fol. pag.	204	—
79	British Museum	Har. 5772	—	4to	pag.	277
80	British Museum	Har. 7619	—	Roll	—	—
81	British Museum	Har. 5683	—	4to	pag.	116
82	British Museum	Har. 5706	—	Fol. pag.	159	—
83	British Museum	Har. 7621	—	4to	pag.	381
84	British Museum	Har. 5709	—	4to	pag.	297
85	British Museum	Har. 5773	—	4to	pag.	208
86	British Museum	Har. 1861	—	4to	leaf	129
99	British Museum	D. Costa 1	—	Roll	—	—
100	Brit. Museum	D. Costa 2	—	4to	leaf	85
103	Royal Society	No.	—	4to	leaf	167
1	Samar. Bodleian	No. 3127	—	Fol. pag.	264	—
2	Samar. Bodleian	No. 3128	—	4to	pag.	163 see p. 538.
3	Samar. Bodleian	No. 3129	—	4to	pag.	231 see p. 538.
4	Samar. Bodleian	No. 624	—	4to	leaf	115
5	Samar. Bodleian	Marsh 15	—	12°	leaf	163
6	Samar. Bodleian	No. 5328	—	24°	leaf	78
7	Samar. Br. Mus.	Claud. B 8	—	4to	leaf	156

DEUTERONOMY MSS XLV.

אלה הדברים — beginning (ch. 34) — end כל ישראל:

1	Bodleian Libry.	No. 471	—	Fol. leaf	113	—
2	Bodleian Libry.	No. 3198	—	4to	leaf	77
3	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5350	—	4to	leaf	97
4	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5945	—	Fol. pag.	145	—
5	Bodleian Libry.	No. 1262	—	Fol. leaf	219	—
6	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5349	—	4to	leaf	429
7	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5750	—	Roll	—	—

DEUTERONOMY continued.

8	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5949	—	Fol.	leaf 157	—
9	Bodleian Libry.	—	—	Roll	—	—
12	Bodleian Libry.	Hib. 978	—	12°	leaf 152	—
13	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5948	—	4to	pag. 164	—
14	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5246	—	8vo	leaf 115	—
15	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5935	—	12°	pag. 1	begins at 1, 15.
16	Bodleian Libry.	No. 2879	—	Fol.	leaf 166	wants fm 21,
17	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5233	—	Fol.	l. 196	[13 to 22, 17.
18	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5356	—	8vo	pag. 254	—
55	Corpus College	W B 4, 7	—	Fol.	leaf 122	—
60	Jesus College	No. 12	—	Fol.	pag. 197	—
63	Lincoln College	—	—	Roll	—	—
65	Oriel College	No. 72	—	Fol.	leaf 120	—
66	Dr Barton, Christ - Church	—	—	12°	pag. 317	—
68	Cambridge Lib.	M m 5, 27	—	4to	pag. 193	—
73	Emanuel Coll.	No. 1, 27	—	Fol.	leaf 124	—
75	British Museum	Har. 1528	—	Fol.	leaf 94	—
76	British Museum	Har. 5498	—	8vo	pag. 196	—
77	British Museum	Har. 5710	—	Fol.	pag. 228	—
78	British Museum	Har. 5586	—	Fol.	pag. 277	ends 32, 29.
79	British Museum	Har. 5772	—	4to	pag. 367	—
80	British Museum	Har. 7619	—	Roll	—	—
81	British Museum	Har. 5683	—	4to	pag. 198	—
82	British Museum	Har. 5706	—	Fol.	pag. 243	—
83	British Museum	Har. 7621	—	4to	pag. 508	—
84	British Museum	Har. 5709	—	4to	pag. 392	—
85	British Museum	Har. 5773	—	4to	pag. 278	—
86	British Museum	Har. 1861	—	4to	leaf 174	—
99	British Museum	D. Costa 1	—	Roll	—	—
100	Brit. Museum	D. Costa 2	—	4to	leaf 116	—
103	Royal Society	No.	—	4to	leaf 228	—
1	Samar.	Bodleian No. 3127	—	Fol.	pag. 369	see p. 538.
2	Samar.	Bodleian No. 3128	—	4to	pag. 165	see p. 538.
3	Samar.	Bodleian No. 3129	—	4to	pag. 339	see p. 538.
4	Samar.	Bodleian No. 624	—	4to	leaf 154	see p. 538.
5	Samar.	Bodleian Marsh 15	—	12°	leaf 212	see p. 539.
6	Samar.	Bodleian No. 5328	—	24°	leaf 107	see p. 539.
7	Samar.	Br. Mus. Claud. B 8	—	4to	leaf 208	—

JOSHUA MSS XVII.

: ויהי אחרי מות משה end (ch. 24) beginning

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|-------|
| 1 | Bodleian Libry. No. 461 | — Fol. leaf 2 | _____ |
| 2 | Bodleian Libry. No. 3198 | — 4to leaf 97 | _____ |
| 3 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5350 | — 4to leaf 119 | _____ |
| 4 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5945 | — Fol. pag. 187 | _____ |
| 19 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5933 | — 4to leaf 1 | _____ |
| 28 | Bodleian Libry. Tanner 173 | — 4to pag. 1 begins at 10, 6. | _____ |
| 62 | St. John's Coll. No. 3, 143 | — 4to pag. 4 | _____ |
| 68 | Cambridge Lib. M m 5, 27 | — 4to pag. 234 | _____ |
| 69 | Cambridge Lib. E e 5, 8 | — 4to pag. 1 | _____ |
| 72 | Caius College No. 404 | — 8vo pag. 1 | _____ |
| 73 | Emanuel Coll. No. 1, 27 | — Fol. leaf 152 | _____ |
| 75 | British Museum Har. 1528 | — Fol. leaf 113 | _____ |
| 76 | British Museum Har. 5498 | — 8vo pag. 246 | _____ |
| 77 | British Museum Har. 5710 | — Fol. pag. 281 | _____ |
| 87 | British Museum Har. 5722 | — Fol. pag. 1 | _____ |
| 88 | British Museum Har. 5774 | — 4to pag. 1 | _____ |
| 89 | British Museum Har. 5720 | — Fol. leaf 1 begins at 7, 22. | _____ |

JUDGES MSS XVIII.

: ויהי אחרי מות יהושע end (ch. 21) beginning

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|----|-----------------------------|-----------------|-------|
| 1 | Bodleian Libry. No. 461 | — Fol. leaf 23 | _____ |
| 2 | Bodleian Libry. No. 3198 | — 4to leaf 110 | _____ |
| 3 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5350 | — 4to leaf 64 | _____ |
| 4 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5945 | — Fol. pag. 215 | _____ |
| 19 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5933 | — 4to leaf 134 | _____ |
| 20 | Bodleian Libry. Hib. 979 | — 4to leaf 1 | _____ |
| 28 | Bodleian Libry. Tanner 173 | — 4to pag. 17 | _____ |
| 62 | St. John's Coll. No. 3, 143 | — 4to pag. 151 | _____ |
| 68 | Cambridge Lib. M m 5, 27 | — 4to pag. 264 | _____ |
| 69 | Cambridge Lib. E e 5, 8 | — 4to pag. 57 | _____ |
| 72 | Caius College No. 404 | — 8vo pag. 41 | _____ |
| 73 | Emanuel Coll. No. 1, 27 | — Fol. leaf 171 | _____ |
| 75 | British Museum Har. 1528 | — Fol. leaf 127 | _____ |
| 76 | British Museum Har. 5498 | — 8vo pag. 280 | _____ |
| 77 | British Museum Har. 5710 | — Fol. pag. 317 | _____ |

J U D G E S continued.

- | | | |
|----|---|-------|
| 87 | British Museum Har. 5722 — Fol. pag. 49 | _____ |
| 88 | British Museum Har. 5774 — 4to pag. 46 | _____ |
| 89 | British Museum Har. 5720 — Fol. leaf 20 | _____ |

R U T H M S S X X X.

: ויד' בימי שפט — (ch. 4) — end הוליד את דוד :

- | | | |
|--|--|-------|
| 1 | Bodleian Libry. No. 461 — Fol. leaf 367 | _____ |
| 2 | Bodleian Libry. No. 3198 — 4to leaf 363 | _____ |
| 3 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5351 — 4to leaf 448 | _____ |
| 4 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5946 — Fol. pag. 235 | _____ |
| 13 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5948 — 4to pag. 249 | _____ |
| 16 | Bodleian Libry. No. 2880 — Fol. leaf 41 | _____ |
| 17 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5233 — Fol. leaf 241 | _____ |
| 18 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5356 — 8vo pag. 314 | _____ |
| 28 | Bodleian Libry. Tanner 173 — 4to pag. 497 | _____ |
| 29 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5934 — 12° leaf 148 | _____ |
| 44 | Bodleian Libry. Hib. 980 — 4to leaf 1 | _____ |
| 45 | Bodleian Libry. No. 2606 — 4to leaf 150 ends at 4, 16. | _____ |
| 47 | Bodleian Libry. No. 470 — Fol. leaf 1 | _____ |
| 61 | Jesus College No. 13 — Fol. pag. 8 | _____ |
| 68 | Cambridge Lib. M m 5, 27 — 4to pag. 781 | _____ |
| 72 | Caius College No. 404 — 8vo pag. 80 | _____ |
| 73 | Emanuel Coll. No. 1, 27 — Fol. leaf 535 | _____ |
| 75 | British Museum Har. 1528 — Fol. leaf 307 | _____ |
| 76 | British Museum Har. 5498 — 8vo pag. 850 | _____ |
| 77 | British Museum Har. 5711 — Fol. pag. 1052 | _____ |
| 82 | British Museum Har. 5706 — Fol. pag. 356 | _____ |
| 83 | British Museum Har. 7621 — 4to pag. 799 | _____ |
| 84 | British Museum Har. 5709 — 4to pag. 599 | _____ |
| 85 | British Museum Har. 5773 — 4to pag. 446 | _____ |
| 86 | British Museum Har. 1861 — 4to leaf 219 | _____ |
| 92 | British Museum Har. 5506 — 4to pag. 223 | _____ |
| 93 | British Museum Har. 5715 — Fol. pag. 291 | _____ |
| 94 | British Museum Har. 5775 — 4to pag. 1 | _____ |
| 96 | British Museum Har. 5686 — 4to pag. 663 | _____ |
| 100 | Brit. Museum D. Costa 2 — 4to leaf 146 | _____ |
| Eton Copy printed A a 5, 2 — Fol. leaf 291 | | _____ |

S A M U E L M S S X V I I I .

S. 1. ויהי איש אחד begin. (ch. 31) end ויצמו שבעת ימים :

S. 2. ויהי אחרי מות שאול (ch. 24) המנפה מעל ישראל :

- 1 Bodleian Libry. No. 461 — Fol. leaf 43, 70 —
- 2 Bodleian Libry. No. 3198 — 4to leaf 122, 137 —
- 3 Bodleian Libry. No. 5350 — 4to leaf 148, 165 —
- 4 Bodleian Libry. No. 5945 — Fol. pag. 243, 280 —
- 21 Bodleian Libry. Hib. 981 — 4to leaf 1 begins 1 S. 2, 3.
- 22 Bodleian Libry. No. 5234 — Fol. leaf 1 begins 1 S. 6, 10.
- 28 Bodleian Libry. Tanner 173 — 4to pag. 42, 76 —
- 56 Corpus College W D 1, 5 — 8vo l. 56 ends 1 S. 20, 15.
- 68 Cambridge Lib. M m 5, 27 — 4to pag. 291, 328 —
- 69 Cambridge Lib. E e 5, 8 — 4to pag. 113, 185 —
- 72 Caius College No. 404 — 8vo pag. 86, 137 —
- 73 Emanuel Coll. No. 1, 27 — Fol. leaf 189, 213 —
- 75 British Museum Har. 1528 — Fol. leaf 140, 158 —
- 76 British Museum Har. 5498 — 8vo pag. 313, 356 —
- 77 British Museum Har. 5710 — Fol. pag. 352, 402 —
- 87 British Museum Har. 5722 — Fol. pag. 97, 158 —
- 88 British Museum Har. 5774 — 4to pag. 91, 150 —
- 89 British Museum Har. 5720 — Fol. leaf 46, 82 —

K I N G S M S S X V I I I .

K. 1. וחמלך דוד וקן begin. (ch. 22) end אשר עשה אביו :

K. 2. ויפגע מואב בישראל (ch. 25) ביומו כל ימי חייו :

- 1 Bodleian Libry. No. 461 — Fol. leaf 94, 120 —
- 2 Bodleian Libry. No. 3198 — 4to leaf 150, 166 —
- 3 Bodleian Libry. No. 5350 — 4to leaf 181, 209 —
- 4 Bodleian Libry. N. 5945 p. 310 to 346 ; & 5946 p. 1 to 34.
- 20 Bodleian Libry. Hib. 979 — 4to leaf 57, 125 —
- 22 Bodleian Libry. No. 5234 — Fol. leaf 57, 89 —
- 28 Bodleian Libry. Tanner 173 — 4to pag. 109, 146 —
- 68 Cambridge Lib. M m 5, 27 — 4to pag. 360, 400 —
- 69 Cambridge Lib. E e 5, 8 — 4to pag. 246, 321 —
- 72 Caius College No. 404 — 8vo pag. 180, 231 —
- 73 Emanuel Coll. No. 1, 27 — Fol. leaf 233, 256 —
- 75 British Museum Har. 1528 — Fol. leaf 172, 190 —

KINGS continued.

- 76 British Museum Har. 5498 — 8vo pag. 392, 434 —
 77 British Museum Har. 5710 — Fol. pag. 440, 485 —
 87 British Museum Har. 5722 — Fol. pag. 208, 267 —
 88 British Museum Har. 5774 — 4to pag. 200, 260 —
 89 British Museum Har. 5720 — Fol. leaf 120, 147 [9, 11.
 90 British Museum Har. 5721 — Fol. p. 1, 29: begins 1 K.

CHRONICLES MSS XIX.

- C. 1 אדם שת אנוש end (ch. 29) begin. כל ממלכות הארצות :
 C. 2 ויתחזק שלמה — (ch. 36) — יהוה אלהי עמו ויעל :

- 1 Bodleian Libry. No. 461 — Fol. leaf 422, 443 —
 2 Bodleian Libry. No. 3198 — 4to leaf 276, 289 —
 3 Bodleian Libry. No. 5351 — 4to leaf 327, 342 —
 4 Bodleian Libry. No. 5946, p. 408; & 5495, p. 347 ends 2
 16 Bodleian Libry. No. 2880 — Fol. leaf 121, 135 [C. 9, 4.
 28 Bodleian Libry. Tanner 173 — 4to pag. 425, 457 —
 29 Bodleian Libry. No. 5934 — 12° leaf 1, 24 —
 56 Corpus College W D 1, 5 — 8vo leaf 57, 131 —
 65 Oriel College No. 72 — leaf 290, 310 ends 36, 20.
 68 Cambridge Lib. Mm 5, 27 — 4to pag. 857, 888 —
 71 Cambridge Lib. E e 5, 9 — Fol. pag. 720, 885 —
 72 Caius College No. 404 — 8vo pag. 280, 327 —
 73 Emanuel Coll. No. 1, 27 — Fol. leaf 416, 437 —
 75 British Museum Har. 1528 — Fol. leaf 389, 404 —
 76 British Museum Har. 5498 — 8vo pag. 940, 978 —
 77 British Museum Har. 5711 — Fol. pag. 785, 823 —
 92 British Museum Har. 5506 — 4to pag. 366, 432 —
 93 British Museum Har. 5715 — Fol. pag. 198, 239 —
 80 British Museum Har. 5775 — 4to pag. 310, 373 —
 Eton Copy printed A a 5, 2 — Fol. leaf 331, 350 —

EZRA MSS XXI.

- ובשנת אחת לכרש beginning end (ch. 10) וישמו בני :

- 1 Bodleian Libry. No. 461 — Fol. leaf 399 —
 2 Bodleian Libry. No. 3198 — 4to leaf 382 —
 3 Bodleian Libry. No. 5351 — 4to leaf 426 —
 4 Bodleian Libry. No. 5946 — Fol. pag. 371 —

E Z R A continued,

16	Bodleian Libry.	No. 2880	—	Fol.	leaf 108	_____
28	Bodleian Libry.	Tanner 173	—	4to	pag. 396	_____
29	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5934	—	12°	leaf 190	ends 1c, 31.
44	Bodleian Libry.	Hib. 980	—	4to	leaf 32	_____
45	Bodleian Libry.	No. 2606	—	4to	leaf 1	_____
46	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5936	—	4to	leaf 35	_____
65	Oriel College	No. 72	—	Fol.	leaf 271	_____
68	Cambridge Lib.	M m 5, 27	—	4to	pag. 830	_____
71	Cambridge Lib.	E e 5, 9	—	Fol.	pag. 651	_____
72	Caius College	No. 404	—	8vo	pag. 381	_____
73	Emanuel Coll.	No. 1, 27	—	Fol.	leaf 566	_____
75	British Museum	Har. 1528	—	Fol.	leaf 376	_____
76	British Museum	Har. 5498	—	8vo	pag. 906	_____
77	British Museum	Har. 5711	—	Fol.	pag. 1108	_____
92	British Museum	Har. 5506	—	4to	pag. 156	_____
93	British Museum	Har. 5715	—	Fol.	pag. 160	_____
94	British Museum	Har. 5775	—	4to	pag. 265	_____
Eton Copy printed A a 5, 2			—	Fol.	leaf 312	_____

N E H E M I A H MSS XXI.

: דברי נחמיה beginning — (ch. 13) — end אלהי לשובה :

1	Bodleian Libry.	No. 461	—	Fol.	leaf 407	_____
2	Bodleian Libry.	No. 3198	—	4to	leaf 387	_____
3	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5351	—	4to	leaf 431	_____
4	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5946	—	Fol.	leaf 383	_____
16	Bodleian Libry.	No. 2880	—	Fol.	leaf 113	_____
28	Bodleian Libry.	Tanner 173	—	4to	pag. 407	_____
29	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5934	—	12°	l. 201	begins at 2, 7.
44	Bodleian Libry.	Hib. 980	—	4to	leaf 48	_____
45	Bodleian Libry.	No. 2606	—	4to	leaf 27	_____
46	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5936	—	4to	leaf 57	_____
65	Oriel College	No. 72	—	Fol.	leaf 278	_____
68	Cambridge Lib.	M m 5, 27	—	4to	pag. 841	_____
71	Cambridge Lib.	E e 5, 9	—	Fol.	pag. 679	_____
72	Caius College	No. 404	—	8vo	pag. 397	_____
73	Emanuel Coll.	No. 1, 27	—	Fol.	leaf 574	_____
75	British Museum	Har. 1528	—	Fol.	leaf 381	_____
76	British Museum	Har. 5498	—	8vo	pag. 920	_____
77	British Museum	Har. 5711	—	Fol.	pag. 1121	_____

NEHEMIAH continued.

- 92 British Museum Har. 5506 — 4to pag. 180 —
 93 British Museum Har. 5715 — Fol. pag. 175 —
 94 British Museum Har. 5775 — 4to pag. 284 —
 ETON Copy printed A a 5, 2 — Fol. leaf 320 —

ESTHER MSS XXXVII.

ויהי בימי אחשורוש beginning (ch. 10) end שלום לכל זרעו :

- 1 Bodleian Libry. No. 461 — Fol. leaf 381 —
 2 Bodleian Libry. No. 3198 — 4to leaf 371 —
 3 Bodleian Libry. No. 5351 — 4to leaf 450 —
 4 Bodleian Libry. No. 5946 — Fol. pag. 339 —
 13 Bodleian Libry. No. 5948 — 4to pag. 290 ends at 4, 10.
 16 Bodleian Libry. No. 2880 — Fol. leaf 51 —
 17 Bodleian Libry. No. 5233 — Fol. leaf 249 —
 18 Bodleian Libry. No. 5356 — 8vo pag. 417 —
 28 Bodleian Libry. Tanner 173 — 4to pag. 501 —
 29 Bodleian Libry. No. 5934 — 12° pag. 166 —
 45 Bodleian Libry. No. 2606 — 4to leaf 129 —
 47 Bodleian Libry. No. 470 — Fol. leaf 70 —
 48 Bodleian Libry. No. 2964 — Roll —
 49 Bodleian Libry. No. 2973 — Roll —
 50 Bodleian Libry. No. 3208 — Roll —
 51 Bodleian Libry. No. 3318 — 12° leaf 12 —
 61 Jesus College No. 13 — Fol. pag. 46 —
 64 Lincoln College — — Roll —
 65 Oriel College No. 72 — Fol. leaf 265 —
 67 B. Kennicott, Exeter Coll. — Roll —
 68 Cambridge Lib. M m 5, 27 — 4to pag. 797 —
 72 Caius College No. 404 — 8vo pag. 420 —
 73 Emanuel Coll. No. 1, 27 — Fol. leaf 549 —
 75 British Museum Har. 1528 — Fol. leaf 371 —
 76 British Museum Har. 5498 — 8vo pag. 874 —
 77 British Museum Har. 5711 — Fol. pag. 1076 —
 82 British Museum Har. 5706 — Fol. pag. 331 —
 83 British Museum Har. 7621 — 4to pag. 849 —
 84 British Museum Har. 5709 — 4to pag. 629 —
 85 British Museum Har. 5773 — 4to pag. 475 —
 86 British Museum Har. 1861 — 4to leaf 235 —

ESTHER continued.

92	British Museum Har. 5506	— 4to pag. 255	_____
93	British Museum Har. 5715	— Fol. pag. 311	_____
94	British Museum Har. 5775	— 4to pag. 250	_____
96	British Museum Har. 5686	— 4to pag. 690	_____
98	British Museum Har. 7620	— Roll	_____
100	Brit. Museum D. Costa 2	— 4to leaf 157	_____
ETON Copy printed A a 5, 2		— Fol. leaf 294	_____

JOB MSS XXVI.

אִישׁ הָיָה בְּאֶרֶץ — beginning (ch. 42) — end וַיִּשְׁבַּע יָמָיו :

1	Bodleian Libry. No. 461	— Fol. leaf 338	_____
2	Bodleian Libry. No. 3198	— 4to leaf 350	_____
3	Bodleian Libry. No. 5350	— 4to leaf 395	_____
4	Bodleian Libry. No. 5945	— Fol. pag. 295	_____
16	Bodleian Libry. No. 2880	— Fol. l. 80 wants fm 19, 21	
17	Bodleian Libry. No. 5233	— Fol. leaf 290	[to 23, 7.
28	Bodleian Libry. Tanner 173	— 4to pag. 565	_____
29	Bodleian Libry. No. 5934	— 12° leaf 107	_____
30	Bodleian Libry. No. 5938	— 4to pag. 1	_____
31	Bodleian Libry. No. 6055	— Fol. pag. 1	_____
45	Bodleian Libry. No. 2606	— 4to leaf 65	_____
61	Jesus College No. 13	— Fol. pag. 183	_____
65	Oriel College No. 72	— Fol. leaf 229	_____
68	Cambridge Lib. M m 5, 27	— 4to pag. 747	_____
71	Cambridge Lib. E e 5, 9	— Fol. pag. 461	_____
72	Caius College No. 404	— 8vo pag. 432	_____
73	Emanuel Coll. No. 1, 27	— Fol. leaf 505	_____
75	British Museum Har. 1528	— Fol. leaf 336	_____
76	British Museum Har. 5498	— 8vo pag. 815	_____
77	British Museum Har. 5711	— Fol. pag. 979	_____
86	British Museum Har. 1861	— 4to leaf 285	_____
92	British Museum Har. 5506	— 4to pag. 273	_____
93	British Museum Har. 5715	— Fol. pag. 104	_____
94	British Museum Har. 5797	— 4to pag. 150	_____
95	British Museum Har. 5797	— Fol. pag. 5	_____
100	Brit. Museum D. Costa 2	— 4to leaf 223	_____
ETON Copy printed A a 5, 2		— Fol. leaf 222	_____

P S A L M S M S S X X X V .

1	Bodleian Libry.	No. 461	—	Fol.	leaf 298	—	*
2	Bodleian Libry.	No. 3198	—	4to	leaf 306	—	*
3	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5351	—	4to	leaf 362	—	*
4	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5946	—	Fol.	pag. 238	—	*
16	Bodleian Libry.	No. 2880	—	Fol.	leaf 55	—	*
18	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5356	—	8vo	pag. 319	—	*
28	Bodleian Libry.	Tanner 173	—	4to	pag. 511	—	*
29	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5934	—	12°	leaf 55	begins at 3, 1.	*
32	Bodleian Libry.	No. 432	—	12°	leaf 69	—	*
33	Bodleian Libry.	No. 945	—	4to	pag. 1	—	*
34	Bodleian Libry.	No. 1542	—	4to	pag. 1	—	*
35	Bodleian Libry.	No. 1878	—	8vo	pag. 1	—	*
36	Bodleian Libry.	No. 2271	—	12°	pag. 1	—	*
37	Bodleian Libry.	No. 3009	—	12°	pag. 1	—	*
38	Bodleian Libry.	No. 3317	—	8vo	pag. 1	—	*
39	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5352	—	4to	pag. 1	—	*
40	Bodleian Libry.	7347 tom. 2	8vo	p. 1	begins at 3, 1.		
58	Corpus College	W B 4, 6	—	Fol.	pag. 1	—	*
59	Corpus College	W D 2, 1	—	Fol.	leaf 28	—	*
61	Jefus College	No. 13	—	Fol.	pag. 11	—	*
65	Oriel College	No. 72	—	Fol.	l. 198	begins at 32, 8.	*
68	Cambridge Lib.	M m 5, 27	—	4to	pag. 646	—	*
71	Cambridge Lib.	E e 5, 9	—	Fol.	pag. 1	—	*
72	Caius College	No. 404	—	8vo	pag. 466	—	*
73	Emanuel Coll.	No. 1, 27	—	Fol.	leaf 464	—	*
74	Trinity College	R 8, 6	—	Fol.	pag. 1	—	*
75	British Museum	Har. 1528	—	Fol.	leaf 309	—	*
76	British Museum	Har. 5498	—	8vo	pag. 715	—	*
77	British Museum	Har. 5711	—	Fol.	pag. 873	—	*
92	British Museum	Har. 5506	—	4to	pag. 1	—	*
93	British Museum	Har. 5715	—	Fol.	pag. 1	begins at 28, 8.	*
94	British Museum	Har. 5775	—	4to	pag. 8	—	*
96	British Museum	Har. 5686	—	4to	pag. 842	—	*
100	Brit. Museum	D. Costa 2	—	4to	leaf 164	—	*
102	Lambeth Libry.	No. 435	—	8vo	p. 1	begins at 2, 2	*
E T O N Copy printed		A a 5, 1	—	Fol.	leaf 2	—	*

* This Asterisc is plac'd here, to distinguish those XXVIII MSS, which confirm the singular word חסידך in *Psalm* 16, 10.

PROVERBS MSS XXIV.

משלי שלמה — (ch. 31) — beginning end — בשערים מעשה ;

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|------------------|---|
| 1 | Bodleian Libry. No. 461 | — Fol. leaf 353 | — |
| 2 | Bodleian Libry. No. 3198 | — 4to leaf 339 | — |
| 3 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5351 | — 4to leaf 407 | — |
| 4 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5946 | — Fol. leaf 319 | — |
| 16 | Bodleian Libry. No. 2880 | — Fol. leaf 90 | — |
| 28 | Bodleian Libry. Tanner 173 | — 4to pag. 588 | — |
| 29 | Bodelian Libry. No. 5934 | — 12° pag. 129 | — |
| 41 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5353 | — 4to pag. 1 | — |
| 42 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5360 | — Fol. pag. 1 | — |
| 43 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5932 | — 8vo pag. 1 | — |
| 59 | Corpus College W D 2, 1 | — Fol. leaf 27 | — |
| 61 | Jefus College No. 13 | — Fol. pag. 139 | — |
| 68 | Cambridge Lib. Mm 5, 27 | — 4to pag. 721 | — |
| 71 | Cambridge Lib. E e 5, 9 | — Fol. pag. 345 | — |
| 72 | Caius College No. 404 | — 8vo pag. 542 | — |
| 73 | Emanuel Coll. Nq 1, 27 | — Fol. leaf 521 | — |
| 75 | British Museum Har. 1528 | — Fol. leaf 347 | — |
| 76 | British Museum Har. 5498 | — 8vo pag. 788 | — |
| 77 | British Museum Har. 5711 | — Fol. pag. 1018 | — |
| 92 | British Museum Har. 5506 | — 4to pag. 323 | — |
| 93 | British Museum Har. 5715 | — Fol. pag. 71 | — |
| 94 | British Museum Har. 5775 | — 4to pag. 113 | — |
| 97 | British Museum Har. 7622 | — 4to pag. 1 | — |
| 100 | Brit. Museum D. Costa 2 | — 4to leaf 209 | — |
| | ETON Copy printed A a 5, 2 | — Fol. leaf 117 | — |

ECCLESIASTES MSS XXXIII.

דברי קהלת — (ch. 12) — beginning end — ואם רע ;

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------------|-----------------|---|
| 1 | Bodleian Libry. No. 461 | — Fol. leaf 372 | — |
| 2 | Bodleian Libry. No. 3198 | — 4to leaf 366 | — |
| 3 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5351 | — 4to leaf 439 | — |
| 4 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5946 | — Fol. pag. 339 | — |
| 13 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5948 | — 4to pag. 273 | — |
| 16 | Bodleian Libry. No. 2880 | — Fol. leaf 43 | — |
| 17 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5233 | — Fol. leaf 245 | — |
| 18 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5356 | — 8vo pag. 399 | — |

ECCLESIASTES continued.

28	Bodleian Libry.	Tanner 173	—	4to	pag. 606	—
29	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5934	—	12°	leaf 155	—
47	Bodleian Libry.	No. 470	—	Fol.	leaf 27	—
51	Bodleian Libry.	No. 3318	—	12°	leaf 1	—
52	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5365	—	8vo	pag. 10	—
53	Bodleian Libry.	No. 6076	—	4to	pag. 3	begins at 10, 5.
61	Jesus College	No. 13	—	Fol.	pag. 26	—
62	St. John's Coll.	No. 3, 143	—	4to	pag. 299	—
65	Oriel College	No. 72	—	Fol.	l. 244	begins at 3, 5.
68	Cambridge Lib.	M m 5, 27	—	4to	pag. 789	—
72	Caius College	No. 404	—	8vo	pag. 570	—
73	Emanuel Coll.	No. 1, 27	—	Fol.	leaf 540	—
75	British Museum	Har. 1528	—	Fol.	leaf 356	—
76	British Museum	Har. 5498	—	8vo	pag. 859	—
77	British Museum	Har. 5710	—	Fol.	pag. 1061	—
82	British Museum	Har. 5706	—	Fol.	pag. 373	—
83	British Museum	Har. 7621	—	4to	pag. 807	—
84	British Museum	Har. 5709	—	4to	pag. 615	—
85	British Museum	Har. 5773	—	4to	pag. 456	—
86	British Museum	Har. 1861	—	4to	leaf 227	—
92	British Museum	Har. 5406	—	4to	pag. 239	—
93	British Museum	Har. 5715	—	Fol.	pag. 301	—
94	British Museum	Har. 5775	—	4to	pag. 194	—
96	British Museum	Har. 5686	—	4to	pag. 672	—
100	Brit. Museum	D. Costa 2	—	4to	leaf 152	—
ETON Copy printed			A a 5, 2	—	Fol. leaf 277	—

SOLOMON'S SONG MSS XXXII.

שיר השירים השקני beginning (ch. 8) על הרי בשמים :

1	Bodleian Libry.	No. 461	—	Fol.	leaf 370	—
2	Bodleian Libry.	No. 3198	—	4to	leaf 365	—
3	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5351	—	4to	leaf 443	—
4	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5946	—	Fol.	pag. 347	—
13	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5948	—	4to	pag. 256	—
16	Bodleian Libry.	No. 2880	—	Fol.	leaf 47	—
17	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5233	—	Fol.	leaf 239	—
18	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5356	—	8vo	pag. 394	—
28	Bodleian Libry.	Tanner 173	—	4to	pag. 614	—

SOLOMON'S SONG continued.

29	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5934	— 12°	leaf 151	_____
47	Bodleian Libry.	No. 470	— Fol.	leaf 11	_____
54	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5890	— 4to	leaf 158	ends at 8, 5.
61	Jefus College	No. 13	— Fol.	pag. 1	_____
62	St. John's Coll.	No. 3, 143	— 4to	pag. 279	_____
65	Oriel College	No. 72	— Fol.	leaf 248	_____
68	Cambridge Lib.	M m 5, 27	— 4to	pag. 785	_____
72	Caius College	No. 404	— 8vo	pag. 581	_____
73	Emanuel Coll.	No. 1, 27	— Fol.	leaf 537	_____
75	British Museum	Har. 1528	— Fol.	leaf 359	_____
76	British Museum	Har. 5498	— 8vo	pag. 854	_____
77	British Museum	Har. 5710	— Fol.	pag. 1056	_____
82	British Museum	Har. 5706	— Fol.	pag. 349	_____
83	British Museum	Har. 7621	— 4to	pag. 827	_____
84	British Museum	Har. 5709	— 4to	pag. 590	_____
85	British Museum	Har. 5773	— 4to	pag. 451	_____
86	British Museum	Har. 1861	— 4to	leaf 216	_____
92	British Museum	Har. 5506	— 4to	pag. 216	_____
93	British Museum	Har. 5715	— Fol.	pag. 297	_____
94	British Museum	Har. 5775	— 4to	pag. 207	_____
95	British Museum	Har. 5797	— Fol.	pag. 143	_____
96	British Museum	Har. 5686	— 4to	pag. 667	_____
100	Brit. Museum	D. Costa 2	— 4to	leaf 144	_____
ETON Copy printed A a 5, 2				— Fol.	leaf 269 _____

ISAIAH MSS XXIV.

דחון ישעיהו — (ch. 66) — end לכל בשׁר׃

1	Bodleian Libry.	No. 461	— Fol.	leaf 145	_____
2	Bodleian Libry.	No. 3198	— 4to	leaf 184	_____
3	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5351	— 4to	leaf 225	_____
4	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5946	— Fol.	pag. 148	_____
16	Bodleian Libry.	No. 2880	— Fol.	leaf 1	_____
22	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5234	— Fol.	leaf 225	_____
23	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5911	— 4to	leaf 1	_____
24	Bodleian Libry.	7350 tom. 2,	8vo	pag. 1	_____
25	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5930	— 4to	pag. 1	_____
28	Bodleian Libry.	Tanner 173	— 4to	pag. 294	_____

ISAIAH continued. 102

57	Corpus College	W B 4, 8	—	Fol. leaf 1	—
68	Cambridge Lib.	M m 5, 27	—	4to pag. 435	—
70	Cambridge Lib.	E e 5, 10	—	4to pag. 1	—
72	Caius College	No. 404	—	8vo pag. 586	—
73	Emanuel Coll.	No. 1, 27	—	Fol. leaf 279	—
75	British Museum	Har. 1528	—	Fol. leaf 206	—
76	British Museum	Har. 5498	—	8vo pag. 475	—
77	British Museum	Har. 5711	—	Fol. pag. 527	—
87	British Museum	Har. 5722	—	Fol. pag. 321	—
88	British Museum	Har. 5774	—	4to pag. 323	—
89	British Museum	Har. 5720	—	Fol. leaf 178	—
90	British Museum	Har. 5721	—	Fol. pag. 77	—
91	British Museum	Har. 5509	—	4to pag. 1	begins 13, 14.
101	Brit. Museum	D. Costa 3	—	4to leaf 1	—

JEREMIAH MSS XXI.

דברי ירמיהו beginning — (ch. 52) — end מותו כל ימי חייו :

1	Bodleian Libry.	No. 461	—	Fol. leaf 180	—
2	Bodleian Libry.	No. 3198	—	4to leaf 207	—
3	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5351	—	4to leaf 248	—
4	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5946	—	Fol. leaf 35	—
22	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5234	—	Fol. leaf 122	—
23	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5911	—	Fol. leaf 50	—
28	Bodleian Libry.	Tanner 173	—	4to pag. 187	—
57	Corpus College	W B 4, 8	—	Fol. leaf 40	—
68	Cambridge Lib.	M m 5, 27	—	4to pag. 485	—
70	Cambridge Lib.	E e 5, 10	—	Fol. pag. 91	—
72	Caius College	No. 404	—	8vo pag. 654	—
73	Emanuel Coll.	No. 1, 27	—	Fol. leaf 311	—
75	British Museum	Har. 1528	—	Fol. leaf 229	—
76	British Museum	Har. 5498	—	8vo pag. 530	—
77	British Museum	Har. 5711	—	Fol. pag. 587	—
87	British Museum	Har. 5722	—	Fol. pag. 409	—
88	British Museum	Har. 5774	—	4to pag. 389	—
89	British Museum	Har. 5720	—	Fol. leaf 235	—
90	British Museum	Har. 5721	—	Fol. pag. 143	—
91	British Museum	Har. 5509	—	4to pag. 55	—
101	Brit. Museum	D. Costa 3	—	4to leaf 48	—

LAMENTATIONS MSS XXX.

: איכה ישבה end — (ch. 5) — beginning

- 1 Bodleian Libry. No. 461 — Fol. leaf 378 —
- 2 Bodleian Libry. No. 3198 — 4to leaf 370 —
- 3 Bodleian Libry. No. 5351 — 4to leaf 445 —
- 4 Bodleian Libry. No. 5946 — Fol. pag. 350 —
- 13 Bodleian Libry. No. 5948 — 4to pag. 264 —
- 16 Bodleian Libry. No. 2880 — Fol. leaf 48 —
- 17 Bodleian Libry. No. 5233 — Fol. leaf 242 —
- 18 Bodleian Libry. No. 5356 — 8vo pag. 411 —
- 28 Bodleian Libry. Tanner 173 — 4to pag. 618 ends at 3, 30.
- 29 Bodleian Libry. No. 5934 — 4to leaf 162 —
- 45 Bodleian Libry. No. 2606 — 4to leaf 118 —
- 47 Bodleian Libry. No. 470 — Fol. leaf 53 —
- 61 Jesus College No. 13 — Fol. pag. 16 —
- 65 Oriel College No. 72 — Fol. leaf 250 —
- 68 Cambridge Lib. Mm 5, 27 — 4to pag. 806 —
- 72 Caius College No. 404 — 8vo pag. 738 —
- 73 Emanuel Coll. No. 1, 27 — Fol. leaf 546 —
- 75 British Museum Har. 1528 — Fol. leaf 361 —
- 76 British Museum Har. 5498 — 8vo pag. 869 —
- 77 British Museum Har. 5710 — Fol. pag. 1071 —
- 82 British Museum Har. 5706 — Fol. pag. 364 —
- 83 British Museum Har. 7621 — 4to pag. 836 —
- 84 British Museum Har. 5709 — 4to pag. 605 —
- 85 British Museum Har. 5773 — 4to pag. 408 —
- 86 British Museum Har. 1861 — 4to leaf 222 —
- 92 British Museum Har. 5506 — 4to pag. 230 —
- 93 British Museum Har. 5715 — Fol. pag. 323 —
- 94 British Museum Har. 5797 — 4to pag. 214 —
- 96 British Museum Har. 5686 — 4to pag. 682 —
- 100 Brit. Museum D. Costa 2 — 4to leaf 149 —
- Eton Copy printed A a 5, 2 — Fol. leaf 287 —

EZEKIEL MSS XXIII.

: ויהי בשלשים יוחי end — (ch. 48) — beginning

- 1 Bodleian Libry. No. 461 — Fol. leaf 225 —
- 2 Bodleian Libry. No. 3198 — 4to leaf 235 —

E Z E K I E L continued.

3	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5350	—	4to	leaf 280	_____
4	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5945	—	Fol.	pag. 95	_____
22	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5234	—	Fol.	leaf 177	_____
23	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5911	—	4to	leaf 112	_____
26	Bodleian Libry.	No. 3731	—	4to	pag. 1	_____
27	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5950	—	24°	leaf 110	ends 42, 13.
28	Bodleian Libry.	Tanner 173	—	4to	pag. 250	_____
57	Corpus College	W B 4, 8	—	Fol.	leaf 84	_____
68	Cambridge Lib.	M m 5, 10	—	4to	pag. 548	_____
70	Cambridge Lib.	E e 5, 10	—	4to	pag. 210	_____
72	Caius College	No. 404	—	8vo	pag. 744	_____
73	Emanuel Coll.	No. 1, 27	—	Fol.	leaf 351	_____
75	British Museum	Har. 1528	—	Fol.	leaf 260	_____
76	British Museum	Har. 5498	—	8vo	pag. 602	_____
77	British Museum	Har. 5711	—	Fol.	pag. 665	_____
87	British Museum	Har. 5722	—	Fol.	pag. 522	_____
88	British Museum	Har. 5774	—	4to	pag. 486	_____
89	British Museum	Har. 5720	—	Fol.	leaf 290	ends 45, 19.
90	British Museum	Har. 5721	—	Fol.	pag. 226	_____
91	British Museum	Har. 5509	—	4to	pag. 138	_____
101	Brit. Museum	D. Costa 3	—	4to	leaf 112	_____

D A N I E L MSS XX.

: בשנת שלוש end — (ch. 12) — beginning שלוש

1	Bodleian Libry.	No. 461	—	Fol.	leaf 387	_____
2	Bodleian Libry.	No. 3198	—	4to	leaf 375	_____
3	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5351	—	4to	leaf 418	_____
4	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5946	—	Fol.	pag. 355	_____
16	Bodleian Libry.	No. 2880	—	Fol.	leaf 101	_____
28	Bodleian Libry.	Tanner 173	—	4to	pag. 378	_____
29	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5934	—	12°	leaf 174	_____
44	Bodleian Libry.	Hib. 980	—	4to	leaf 6	_____
46	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5936	—	4to	leaf 1	_____
65	Oriel College	No. 72	—	Fol.	leaf 254	_____
68	Cambridge Lib.	M m 5, 27	—	4to	pag. 811	_____
71	Cambridge Lib.	E e 5, 9	—	Fol.	pag. 610	_____
72	Caius College	No. 404	—	8vo	pag. 815	_____
73	Emanuel Coll.	No. 1, 27	—	Fol.	leaf 555	_____

DANIEL continued.

- 75 British Museum Har. 1528 — Fol. leaf 363 —
 76 British Museum Har. 5498 — 8vo pag. 885 —
 77 British Museum Har. 5711 — Fol. pag. 1087 —
 92 British Museum Har. 5506 — 4to pag. 121 —
 93 British Museum Har. 5715 — Fol. pag. 138 —
 94 British Museum Har. 5775 — 4to pag. 221 —
 ETON Copy printed A a 5, 2 — Fol. leaf 299 —

HOSEA MSS XXII.

דבר יהוה אשר היה אל הושע. begin. (ch. 14) end יכשלו בם :

- 1 Bodleian Library. No. 461 — Fol. leaf 265 —
 2 Bodleian Library. No. 3198 — 4to leaf 258 —
 3 Bodleian Library. No. 5351 — 4to leaf 307 —
 4 Bodleian Library. No. 5946 — Fol. leaf 196 —
 16 Bodleian Library. No. 2880 — Fol. leaf 22 —
 22 Bodleian Library. No. 5234 — Fol. leaf 267 —
 23 Bodleian Library. No. 5911 — Fol. leaf 166 —
 27 Bodleian Library. No. 5950 — 24° leaf 1 begins 10, 12.
 28 Bodleian Library. Tanner 173 — 4to pag. 336 —
 57 Corpus College W B 4, 8 — Fol. leaf 120 —
 68 Cambridge Lib. M m 5, 27 — 4to pag. 603 —
 70 Cambridge Lib. E e 5, 10 — Fol. pag. 310 —
 72 Caius College No. 404 — 8vo pag. 839 —
 73 Emanuel Coll. No. 1, 27 — Fol. leaf 387 —
 75 British Museum Har. 1528 — Fol. leaf 287 —
 76 British Museum Har. 5498 — 8vo pag. 665 —
 77 British Museum Har. 5711 — Fol. pag. 731 —
 87 British Museum Har. 5722 — Fol. pag. 623 —
 88 British Museum Har. 5774 — 4to pag. 573 —
 90 British Museum Har. 5721 — Fol. pag. 305 —
 91 British Museum Har. 5509 — 4to pag. 221 —
 101 Brit. Museum D. Costa 3 — 4to leaf 168 —

JOEL MSS XXII.

דבר יהוה אשר היה אל עמל beginning (ch. 3) end שכן בציון :

- 1 Bodleian Library. No. 461 — Fol. leaf 270 —

JOEL continued.

2	Bodleian Libry.	No. 3198	—	4to	leaf 261	_____
3	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5351	—	4to	leaf 310	_____
4	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5946	—	Fol.	pag. 202	_____
16	Bodleian Libry.	No. 2880	—	Fol.	leaf 25	_____
22	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5234	—	Fol.	leaf 273	_____
23	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5911	—	4to	leaf 173	_____
27	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5950	—	24°	leaf 6	_____
28	Bodleian Libry.	Tanner 173	—	4to	pag. 342	_____
57	Corpus College	W B 4, 8	—	Fol.	leaf 125	_____
68	Cambridge Lib.	M m 5, 27	—	4to	pag. 610	_____
70	Cambridge Lib.	E e 5, 10	—	4to	pag. 322	_____
72	Caius College	No. 404	—	8vo	pag. 848	_____
73	Emanuel Coll.	No. 1, 27	—	Fol.	leaf 392	_____
75	British Museum	Har. 1528	—	Fol.	leaf 290	_____
76	British Museum	Har. 5498	—	8vo	pag. 673	_____
77	British Museum	Har. 5710	—	Fol.	pag. 740	_____
87	British Museum	Har. 5722	—	Fol.	pag. 635	_____
88	British Museum	Har. 5774	—	4to	pag. 584	_____
90	British Museum	Har. 5721	—	Fol.	pag. 315	_____
91	British Museum	Har. 5509	—	4to	pag. 230	_____
101	Brit. Museum	D. Costa 3	—	4to	leaf 176	_____

AMOS MSS XXII.

: דברי עמוס end ירוה אלדך (ch. 9) ——— beginning

1	Bodleian Libry.	No. 461	—	Fol.	leaf 272	_____
2	Bodleian Libry.	No. 3198	—	4to	leaf 262	_____
3	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5351	—	4to	leaf 312	_____
4	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5946	—	Fol.	pag. 205	_____
16	Bodleian Libry.	No. 2880	—	Fol.	leaf 27	_____
22	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5234	—	Fol.	leaf 276	_____
23	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5911	—	4to	leaf 175	_____
27	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5950	—	24°	leaf 16	_____
28	Bodleian Libry.	Tanner 173	—	4to	pag. 345	_____
57	Corpus College	W B 4, 8	—	Fol.	leaf 126	_____
68	Cambridge Lib.	M m 5, 27	—	4to	pag. 613	_____
70	Cambridge Lib.	E e 5, 10	—	4to	pag. 327	_____
72	Caius College	No. 404	—	8vo	pag. 852	_____
73	Emanuel Coll.	No. 1, 27	—	Fol.	leaf 393	_____
75	British Museum	Har. 1528	—	Fol.	leaf 292	_____

A M O S continued.

76	British Museum Har. 5498	— 8vo pag. 676	_____
77	British Museum Har. 5711	— Fol. pag. 743	_____
87	British Museum Har. 5722	— Fol. pag. 640	_____
88	British Museum Har. 5774	— 4to pag. 589	_____
90	British Museum Har. 5721	— Fol. pag. 320	_____
91	British Museum Har. 5509	— 4to pag. 234	_____
101	Brit. Museum D. Costa 3	— 4to leaf 179	_____

O B A D I A H M S S X X I I.

: חזון עבריה beginning (ch. 1) — end ליהודה המלוכה :

1	Bodleian Libry. No. 461	— Fol. leaf 277	_____
2	Bodleian Libry. No. 3198	— 4to leaf 264	_____
3	Bodleian Libry. No. 5351	— 4to leaf 314	_____
4	Bodleian Libry. No. 5946	— Fol. pag. 211	_____
16	Bodleian Libry. No. 2880	— Fol. leaf 29	_____
22	Bodleian Libry. No. 5234	— Fol. leaf 281	_____
23	Bodleian Libry. No. 5911	— Fol. leaf 181	_____
27	Bodleian Libry. No. 5950	— 24 ^o leaf 26	_____
28	Bodleian Libry. Tanner 173	— 4to pag. 350	_____
57	Corpus College W B 4, 8	— Fol. leaf 130	_____
68	Cambridge Lib. M m 5, 10	— 4to pag. 620	_____
70	Cambridge Lib. E e 5, 10	— 4to pag. 338	_____
72	Caius College No. 494	— 8vo pag. 860	_____
73	Emanuel Coll. No. 1, 27	— Fol. leaf 397	_____
75	British Museum Har. 1528	— Fol. leaf 294	_____
76	British Museum Har. 5498	— 8vo pag. 683	_____
77	British Museum Har. 5710	— Fol. pag. 750	_____
87	British Museum Har. 5712	— Fol. pag. 650	_____
88	British Museum Har. 7621	— 4to pag. 598	_____
90	British Museum Har. 5721	— Fol. pag. 328	_____
91	British Museum Har. 5509	— 4to pag. 244	_____
101	Brit. Museum D. Costa 3	— 4to leaf 185	_____

J O N A H M S S X X I I.

: יהי דבר יהוה אל יונה beginning (ch. 4) end ובהמה רבה :

1	Bodleian Libry. No. 461	— Fol. leaf 277	_____
2	Bodleian Libry. No. 3198	— 4to leaf 265	_____
3	Bodleian Libry. No. 5350	— 4to leaf 315	_____
4	Bodleian Libry. No. 5945	— Fol. pag. 211	_____

JONAH continued.

16	Bodleian Libry.	No. 2880	—	Fol.	leaf 30	_____
22	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5234	—	Fol.	leaf 283	_____
23	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5911	—	Fol.	leaf 182	_____
27	Bodelian Libry.	No. 5950	—	24°	leaf 29	_____
28	Bodleian Libry.	Tanner 173	—	4to	pag. 351	_____
57	Corpus College	W B 4, 8	—	Fol.	leaf 131	_____
68	Cambridge Lib.	M m 5, 27	—	4to	pag. 620	_____
70	Cambridge Lib.	E e 5, 10	—	4to	pag. 339	_____
72	Caius College	No. 404	—	8vo	pag. 861	_____
73	Emanuel Coll.	No. 1, 27	—	Fol.	leaf 398	_____
75	British Museum	Har. 1528	—	Fol.	leaf 295	_____
76	British Museum	Har. 5498	—	8vo	pag. 684	_____
77	British Museum	Har. 5711	—	Fol.	pag. 751	_____
87	British Museum	Har. 5722	—	Fol.	pag. 652	_____
88	British Museum	Har. 5774	—	4to	pag. 600	_____
90	British Museum	Har. 5721	—	Fol.	pag. 330	_____
91	British Museum	Har. 5509	—	4to	pag. 245	_____
101	Brit. Museum	D. Costa 3	—	4to	leaf 186	_____

MICAH MSS XXII.

: דבר ידוע אשר היה אל מיכה end (ch. 7) begin.

1	Bodleian Libry.	No. 461	—	Fol.	leaf 279	_____
2	Bodleian Libry.	No. 3198	—	4to	leaf 265	_____
3	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5351	—	4to	leaf 316	_____
4	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5945	—	Fol.	pag. 213	_____
16	Bodleian Libry.	No. 2880	—	Fol.	leaf 31	_____
22	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5234	—	Fol.	leaf 284	_____
23	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5911	—	4to	leaf 184	_____
27	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5950	—	24°	leaf 35	_____
28	Bodleian Libry.	Tanner 173	—	4to	pag. 353	_____
57	Corpus College	W B 4, 8	—	Fol.	leaf 132	_____
68	Cambridge Lib.	M m 5, 27	—	4to	pag. 622	_____
70	Cambridge Lib.	E e 5, 10	—	4to	pag. 343	_____
72	Caius College	No. 404	—	8vo	pag. 863	_____
73	Emanuel Coll.	No. 1, 27	—	Fol.	leaf 399	_____
75	British Museum	Har. 1528	—	Fol.	leaf 296	_____
76	British Museum	Har. 5498	—	8vo	pag. 687	_____
77	British Museum	Har. 5711	—	Fol.	pag. 753	_____
87	British Museum	Har. 5722	—	Fol.	pag. 656	_____

MICAH continued.

- 88 British Museum Har. 5774 — 4to pag. 603 —
 90 British Museum Har. 5721 — Fol. pag. 332 ends at 7, 18.
 91 British Museum Har. 5509 — 4to pag. 248 —
 101 Brit. Museum D. Costa 3 — 4to leaf 188 —

NAHUM MSS XXI

: משא נִינֹה end — (ch. 3) — beginning רֵעֶתְךָ תִּמִּיד :

- 1 Bodleian Libry. No. 461 — Fol. leaf 282 —
 2 Bodleian Libry. No. 3198 — 4to leaf 267 —
 3 Bodleian Libry. No. 5351 — 4to leaf 317 —
 4 Bodleian Libry. No. 5946 — Fol. leaf 217 —
 16 Bodleian Libry. No. 2880 — Fol. leaf 32 —
 22 Bodleian Libry. No. 5234 — Fol. leaf 287 —
 23 Bodleian Libry. No. 5911 — Fol. leaf 188 —
 27 Bodleian Libry. No. 5950 — 24° leaf 48 —
 28 Bodleian Libry. Tanner 173 — 4to pag. 357 —
 57 Corpus College W B 4, 8 — Fol. leaf 135 —
 68 Cambridge Lib. M m 5, 27 — 4to pag. 627 —
 70 Cambridge Lib. E e 5, 10 — Fol. pag. 351 —
 72 Caius College No. 404 — 8vo pag. 869 —
 73 Emanuel Coll. No. 1, 27 — Fol. leaf 402 —
 75 British Museum Har. 1528 — Fol. leaf 298 —
 76 British Museum Har. 5498 — 8vo pag. 691 —
 77 British Museum Har. 5711 — Fol. pag. 758 —
 87 British Museum Har. 5722 — Fol. pag. 663 —
 88 British Museum Har. 5774 — 4to pag. 609 —
 91 British Museum Har. 5509 — 4to pag. 254 —
 101 Brit. Museum D. Costa 3 — 4to leaf 192 —

HABAKKUK MSS XXI.

: דְּמִשָּׁא אֲשֶׁר חֹזֶה חִבְקֹק begin. end (ch. 3) לִמְנֹצָח בְּנִינֹתַי :

- 1 Bodleian Libry. No. 461 — Fol. leaf 283 —
 2 Bodleian Libry. No. 3198 — 4to leaf 268 —
 3 Bodleian Libry. No. 5351 — 4to leaf 318 —
 4 Bodleian Libry. No. 5946 — Fol. pag. 219 —
 16 Bodleian Libry. No. 2880 — Fol. leaf 33 —
 22 Bodleian Libry. No. 5234 — Fol. leaf 289 —
 23 Bodleian Libry. No. 5911 — 4to leaf 190 —

H A B A K K U K continued.

27	Bodleian Libry. No. 5950	— 24° leaf 53	_____
28	Bodleian Libry. Tanner 173	— 4to pag. 358	_____
57	Corpus College W B 4, 8	— Fol. leaf 136	_____
68	Cambridge Lib. M m 5, 27	— 4to pag. 629	_____
70	Cambridge Lib. E e 5, 10	— 4to pag. 354	_____
72	Caius College No. 404	— 8vo pag. 871	_____
73	Emanuel Coll. No. 1, 27	— Fol. leaf 403	_____
75	British Museum Har. 1528	— Fol. leaf 299	_____
76	British Museum Har. 5498	— 8vo pag. 693	_____
77	British Museum Har. 5710	— Fol. pag. 760	_____
87	British Museum Har. 5722	— Fol. pag. 666	_____
88	British Museum Har. 5774	— 4to pag. 612	_____
91	British Museum Har. 5509	— 4to pag. 256	_____
101	Brit. Museum D. Costa 3	— 4to leaf 194	_____

Z E P H A N I A H M S S X X I.

דבר יחזקאל אשר היה אל צפניה begin. (ch. 3) end אמר יחזקאל :

1	Bodleian Libry. No. 461	— Fol. leaf 285	_____
2	Bodleian Libry. No. 3198	— 4to leaf 269	_____
3	Bodleian Libry. No. 5351	— 4to leaf 319	_____
4	Bodleian Libry. No. 5946	— Fol. pag. 220	_____
16	Bodleian Libry. No. 2880	— Fol. leaf 34	_____
22	Bodleian Libry. No. 5234	— Fol. leaf 290	_____
23	Bodleian Libry. No. 5911	— 4to leaf 191	_____
27	Bodleian Libry. No. 5950	— 24° leaf 59	_____
28	Bodleian Libry. Tanner 173	— 4to pag. 360	_____
57	Corpus College W B 4, 8	— Fol. leaf 137	_____
68	Cambridge Lib. M m 5, 27	— 4to pag. 630	_____
70	Cambridge Lib. E e 5, 10	— 4to pag. 357	_____
72	Caius College No. 404	— 8vo pag. 874	_____
73	Emanuel Coll. No. 1, 27	— Fol. leaf 405	_____
75	British Museum Har. 1528	— Fol. leaf 300	_____
76	British Museum Har. 5498	— 8vo pag. 696	_____
77	British Museum Har. 5711	— Fol. pag. 762	_____
87	British Museum Har. 5722	— Fol. pag. 670	_____
88	British Museum Har. 5774	— 4to pag. 615	_____
91	British Museum Har. 5509	— 4to pag. 259	_____
101	Brit. Museum D. Costa 3	— 4to leaf 196	_____

HAGGAI MSS XXI.

: יהודא צבאור — end (ch. 2) — beginning בשנת שתיים

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|------------------------------|-------|
| 1 | Bodleian Libry. No. 461 | — Fol. leaf 286 | _____ |
| 2 | Bodleian Libry. No. 3198 | — 4to leaf 270 | _____ |
| 3 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5351 | — 4to leaf 320 | _____ |
| 4 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5946 | — Fol. pag. 222 | _____ |
| 16 | Bodleian Libry. No. 2880 | — Fol. leaf 35 | _____ |
| 22 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5234 | — Fol. leaf 292 | _____ |
| 23 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5911 | — Fol. leaf 194 | _____ |
| 27 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5950 | — 24° leaf 66 | _____ |
| 28 | Bodleian Libry. Tanner 173 | — 4to pag. 362 | _____ |
| 57 | Corpus College W B 4, 8 | — Fol. leaf 139 | _____ |
| 68 | Cambridge Lib. M m 5, 10 | — 4to pag. 633 | _____ |
| 70 | Cambridge Lib. E e 5, 10 | — 4to pag. 362 | _____ |
| 72 | Catus College No. 404 | — 8vo pag. 877 | _____ |
| 73 | Emanuel Coll. No. 1, 27 | — Fol. leaf 406 | _____ |
| 75 | British Museum Har. 1528 | — Fol. leaf 301 | _____ |
| 76 | British Museum Har. 5498 | — 8vo pag. 698 | _____ |
| 77 | British Museum Har. 5710 | — Fol. pag. 765 | _____ |
| 87 | British Museum Har. 5712 | — Fol. pag. 674 | _____ |
| 88 | British Museum Har. 7621 | — 4to pag. 619 | _____ |
| 91 | British Museum Har. 5509 | — 4to pag. 262 ends at 1, 5. | _____ |
| 101 | Brit. Museum D. Costa 3 | — 4to leaf 199 | _____ |

ZECHARIAH MSS XX.

: בחדש השמיני end — (ch. 14) — beginning ביום ההוא

- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|-----------------|-------|
| 1 | Bodleian Libry. No. 461 | — Fol. leaf 288 | _____ |
| 2 | Bodleian Libry. No. 3198 | — 4to leaf 270 | _____ |
| 3 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5351 | — 4to leaf 321 | _____ |
| 4 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5946 | — Fol. pag. 224 | _____ |
| 16 | Bodleian Libry. No. 2880 | — Fol. leaf 36 | _____ |
| 22 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5234 | — Fol. leaf 294 | _____ |
| 23 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5911 | — Fol. leaf 195 | _____ |
| 27 | Bodleian Libry. No. 5950 | — 24° leaf 72 | _____ |
| 28 | Bodleian Libry. Tanner 173 | — 4to pag. 364 | _____ |
| 57 | Corpus College W B 4, 8 | — Fol. leaf 140 | _____ |
| 68 | Cambridge Lib. M m 5, 27 | — 4to pag. 634 | _____ |
| 70 | Cambridge Lib. E e 5, 10 | — 4to pag. 365 | _____ |

ZECHARIAH continued.

72	Caius College	No. 404	—	8vo	pag. 880	—
73	Emanuel Coll.	No. 1, 27	—	Fol.	leaf 408	—
75	British Museum	Har. 1528	—	Fol.	leaf 302	—
76	British Museum	Har. 5498	—	8vo	pag. 700	—
77	British Museum	Har. 5711	—	Fol.	pag. 767	—
87	British Museum	Har. 5722	—	Fol.	pag. 677	—
88	British Museum	Har. 5774	—	4to	pag. 621	—
101	Brit. Museum	D. Costa 3	—	4to	leaf 200	—

MALACHI MSS XX.

: מלך דבר beginning (ch. 4) — end הארץ חרם :

1	Bodleian Libry.	No. 461	—	Fol.	leaf 294	—
2	Bodleian Libry.	No. 3198	—	4to	leaf 274	—
3	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5351	—	4to	leaf 325	—
4	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5945	—	Fol.	pag. 232	—
16	Bodleian Libry.	No. 2880	—	Fol.	leaf 39	—
22	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5234	—	Fol.	leaf 302	—
23	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5911	—	4to	leaf 205	—
27	Bodleian Libry.	No. 5950	—	24°	leaf 101	—
28	Bodleian Libry.	Tanner 173	—	4to	pag. 374	—
57	Corpus College	W B 4, 8	—	Fol.	leaf 145	—
68	Cambridge Lib.	M m 5, 27	—	4to	pag. 643	—
70	Cambridge Lib.	E e 5, 10	—	4to	pag. 382	—
72	Caius College	No. 404	—	8vo	pag. 892	—
73	Emanuel Coll.	No. 1, 27	—	Fol.	leaf 414	—
75	British Museum	Har. 1528	—	Fol.	leaf 306	—
76	British Museum	Har. 5498	—	8vo	pag. 711	—
77	British Museum	Har. 5711	—	Fol.	pag. 778	—
87	British Museum	Har. 5722	—	Fol.	pag. 693	—
88	British Museum	Har. 5774	—	4to	pag. 636	—
101	Brit. Museum	D. Costa 3	—	4to	leaf 210	—

F I N I S.

INDEX OF TEXTS.

GENESIS.		Deuteron. 27, 14	
4, 8	pag. 351, 352, 364	27, 26	82
9, 20	405	28, 68	48
10, 23	549	29, 1	87 note
12, 6	40	31, 9	79, 90
25, 4	549	31, 26	92
25, 8	180	33 chap.	298
26, 29	549	34 chap.	92
27, 29	563	92, 131, 303	
27, 40	340	Joshua 7, 25	260
31, 33	333, 552	8, 30	72, 94 note.
31, 51	550	8, 33	558
31, 53	558	8, 34	88
46, 20	406	8, 35	95 note.
Exodus 9, 24	317, 329	9, 4	340
10, 18	187, 329	15, 47	328
11 chap.	308	15, 60	57, 561
12, 3	187, 329	15, 63	573
12, 40	333	21, 36, 37	285, 330-332,
12, 46	329	390, 485, 487, 571	
13, 5	317, 329	22, 34	175, 178
15, 17	317	24, 1	118
18, 6	332, 552	24, 19	375, 573
20 chap.	97 --- 101	24, 26	119
20, 11	184, 329	Judges 1, 22	328
20, 18	97, 317, 329	15, 4	580
31, 8	181, 329	15, 6, 11	328
Leviticus 3, 8	357	16, 13, 14	334
4, 29	328	16, 18	328
9, 21	316, 329	18, 30	51 --- 55, 559
11, 25	316	20, 13	328
Numbers 3, 39	356	Ruth 4, 4	328
24, 9	563	Samuel 1 S. 2; 3, 16	328
Deuteron. 5, 8	184, 329	1 S. 6, 18	341
5; 18 --- 21	184	1 S. 6, 19	208, 357
5, 23	329	1 S. 12, 10	328
6; 12, 13	187, 188, 329	1 S. 13, 1	219
10, 6	314	1 S. 15, 9	341
11, 30	40	1 S. 17, 7	328
23, 14	562	1 S. 17, 12	418 --- 431,
27, 2	77, 95 note.	554 --- 558, 575	
27; 3, 8	93	1 S. 24, 11	260
27, 4	20 --- 76	2 S. 5; 14 --- 16	399-401
27, 5	94 note.	2 S. 13, 39	1259
27, 8	87	2 S. 14, 26	328
		2 S. 15, 7	357, 564

INDEX OF TEXTS

2 Samuel 21, 19	318	Psalms 109, whole	581
2 S. 22 chap.	565 — 570	Proverbs 15, 20	188, 330
2 S. 22, 7	359	18, 22	189
2 S. 22, 28	356	19, 1	287, 356
2 S. 23, 8	496	26, 5	359
2 S. 23; 13, 18, 21	328	Ecclesiastes 6, 10	341
Kings 1 K. 4, 26	208	Isaiah 7, 13	329
1 K. 12; 7, 21, 23	328	9, 6	403
1 K. 17, 6	581	19, 18	59
2 K. 17, 28	113	29, 11	330
2 K. 19, 31	328	34, 16	330
2 K. 23, 16	335	53, 9	371
Chron. 1 C. 1, 33	549	65, 25	329
1 C. 3; 5, 6, 7	400, 401	Jeremiah 7, 22	329
1 C. 6, 57	328, 469, 487	21, 12	329
1 C. 11 chap.	496	26, 1	357
1 C. 11; 3, 20	328	31, 38	329
1 C. 11, 13	318	51, 19	439
1 C. 22, 14	353, 558	52; 28 --- 30	432
1 C. 29; 4 — 8	353, 558	Ezekiel 34, 31	330
2 C. 11, 18	329	42, 16	329
2 C. 13; 3, 17	196, 564	45, 1	439
2 C. 14, 8	218	48, 16	329
2 C. 17; 13 — 19	218	Hosea 13, 14	366
2 C. 22, 2	356	Amos 8, 8	341
2 C. 25, 6	219	Micah 5, 2	57
2 C. 26, 5	256	Zechariah 12, 10	536
2 C. 34, 14	299	Esdras, 1st book	506 &c.
2 C. 34, 19 &c.	301	1 E. 2, 13	213
2 C. 36, 9	216, 359	1 E. 5, 7 &c.	508 &c.
2 C. 36; 22, 23	318	Eccles. Prologue	571
Ezra 1, 19	213, 508, 564	20, 30	588
2, 1 &c.	508 &c.	50; 25, 26	60
4, 2	60, 126	Luke 4, 17	343
Nehem. 7, 6 &c.	508 &c.	17, 11 — 18	46
Job 42, 2	329	23, 32	580
Psalms 3, 8	377	24, 44	295
16, 10	107, 346, 469, 561	John 1, 16	405
18, whole	565 — 570	4, 5 — 42	42, 121 — 126
18, 14	391	4, 9	61
22, 1	402	8, 43	61
22, 17	329	Acts 7, 14	406
29, 1	384	20, 28	46
68, 9	563	Romans 10, 20	370
79, 7	329, 563	Philippians 13, 3, 4	371

INDEX OF PERSONS:

Abarbanel	pag. 315	Chiug, Rab. Juda	453
Aben Ezra	209, 259, 260, 268, 270, 455, 456	Chrysoftom ;	43, 61, 124, 424, 592
Antiochus Epiph.	315, 320	Clarendon	31
Apostles quote from the Heb. text ;	48, 344, 349, 370, 536, 576	Clark, Samuel	176
Aquila's version ;	362, 366	Clarke, Sam. Dr.	123
Arias Montanus	476	Clayton Bp	147
Aristeas	319	Clemens Roman.	352
Asseman	35	Clement's Lat. Bible	197 &c.
Athias's Heb. Bible	481	----- worle ;	205, 358
----- with MS notes ;	554	Collins, Anthony ;	24, 101
Bacon, Roger	437	----- 164, 345, 595	
Baldwin, Jesuit	200	Comings, Fowler	10
Barnabas	442	Cosmas /Egyptius	147
Barton, his Heb. MS	521	Costard	493
Bate, Julius	10	Coverdale's version ;	77, 96
Benedict, Peter	34, 35	Cyril	394
Benjamin, Rab.	37	Da Costa	108, 522
Bentley	50, 585	Damascius	39
Bernard	50	De Dieu	139, 140
Bianconi	50, 157, 559	Dositheus	158
Blanchini ;	358, 389, 407, 416	Duane	50
Bolingbroke	294	Du Pin	21, 159
Bomberg, Ven. ed.	179, 230	Elias Levita ;	271, 288, 341
Bootius	21, 169, 593	Eliezer B. Jose	71, 209
Breitinger	7, 574	Ephraem Syrus	33
Brerewood	353	Epiphanius ;	44, 124, 304, 363, 369
Bull Bp and Quaker	361	Erasmus	3, 204
Buxtorf ;	169, 176, 255, 264, 269, 270, 274, 277, 326, 446, 455	Eulogius	158
Buxtorf's Heb. Bible	477	Eupolemus	150
Buxtorf, son	21, 593	Eusebius ;	150, 160, 304, 355, 393, 493
Cadmus	149	Eusebius Emisenus	369
Calmet	21	Euthymius	396
Cappellanus ;	227, 252, 263, 460, 592	Felix Praten.	176, 471, 474
Cappellus ;	216, 326, 340, 439, 478, 592	Frassenius	268
Carpzovius	21, 100, 276	Glassius	52
Cellarius	51	Goliuz's Samar. MS	139
Chillingworth	584	Grabe ;	337, 342, 381, 382, 385, 386, 389, 396, 398, 400, 403, 406, 412, 415, 417, 441, 574
Chishull	50, 154, 156	Green	494
		Grey	493

INDEX OF PERSONS.

- Grotius** 358, 480
Hallet; 213, 376, 493
Hamilton 532
Harduin 50, 149
Hare 493
Havercamp 64
Heath 494
Herodotus 150
Hesychius, why incorrect 515
Gr. version 393
Hillel 464
Hodges 489
Hody; 199, 211, 319, 320, 351, 379, 394, 397, 437, 553, 564, 588.
Hofman's Lexicon 392
Horne, George 265
Hottinger; 21, 22, 32, 42, 67, 114, 133 --- 144, 541 --- 550, 594
Houbigant; 21, 77, 79, 90, 136, 276, 289, 291, 326, 428, 466, 470, 476, 482, 486, 487, 546, 550, 551.
Hudson's Josephus 422
Huetius; 161, 215, 298, 303
Hunt Dedication 493
Huntington 41
Hutchinsonians; 13, 265, 490
Hyde 492
Jablonsky's Heb. Bible 482
Jackson's Chronol. 366, 368
Jacob Ahen Amram 595
Jacob, Rab. Ben Chaim; 17, 227, 229, 230 --- 244, 309 --- 313, 471
James's Bell. 197, 199, 206
Japhe, Rabbi 215
Jarchi, R. Sol. 54, 210, 285, 455, 456
Jerom; 47 --- 51, 57, 154, 193, 203, 204, 210, 211, 216, 283, 304, 347, 364, 385, 387, 391, 394, 395, 403, 415, 416, 434, 438, 442, 508, 573, 576, 581.
Jews; 42, 44, 47, 48, 52, 59, 69, 368 --- made 5 reviews of the Heb. text; 447 --- sentiments on the Heb. text; 17, 105, 222, 291, 377, 554, 595
Jonathan, Mol. grandson 51
Joseph Ben Gorion 68
Josephus; 39, 61 --- 70, 88, 144, 197, 342, 352, 357, 425, 507.
Josiah's surprize 301
Irenæus 365
Ismael, Rabbi 249, 485
Justinian 443
Justyn Martyr 365
Keene, Sir Benj. 358, 475
Keilholz 30
Kidder 595
Kimchi; 175, 179, 253, 455
Langford 576
Lee 573, 594
Le Long; 412, 476, 482
Leusden; 21, 169, 231, 453, 482, 523
Lightfoot; 21, 22, 59, 72
Loeschér 594
Lowth 493, 494, 525
Lucas Brugensis 52
Lucian's Gr. edit. 393, 397
Ludolfus 38, 532
Luther 437, 588, 590
Lyra, Nic. 203
Mahomet charg'd the Jews with corrupting their Bible; 350, 351
Majanfius 358, 475
Maimonides 41, 455, 457
Manasseh B. Israel's Bib. 477
Maracci's Koran 351
Masclef; 445, 447, 448, 453
Mafius's Chald. MS 180
Syr. MS; 387, 388, 573 --- 575
Maundrell; 26, 37, 61, 81, 577

INDEX of PERSONS.

Michaelis, Ben. Heb. Bible ; 79, 312, 486, 537	Sanford 507
Michaelis John Dav. 6, 55, 537, 572, 575, 583	Scaliger 59, 216
Montfaucon ; 30, 50, 147, 150, 153, 154, 156, 162, 213, 364, 366, 369, 378, 384, 392, 394, 415.	Scandar 35
Morinus ; 170, 215, 245, 258 -- 261, 283, 367, 446, 447, 458, 478, 575.	Scholtz, Berlin 573
Morton 50	Selden 77, 273
Mudge 493	Sharpe, Gregory 290, 580
Naphtali, Ben. 451	Simon, F. 21, 22, 139, 168, 272, 462, 482, 573.
Nebuchadnezzar's name 503	Sixtus, Pope, his Lat. Bible ; 197 &c. 205, 358
Nelson's story Bp Bull 361	Sozomen 41
Newton ; 150, 295, 337, 493	Spencer 41, 79, 86
Noris, Cardinal 39	Stephens R. Lat. Bible 195
Obadiah de Bartenora 42	Surenhusius 104
Opitius's Heb. Bible 486	Swinton 155, 513, 541
Origen ; 154, 160 -- 163, 214, 348, 376 -- 392, 431.	Sykes 581, 585
Owen 534	Symmachus's Ver. 362 - 366
Pamphilus's Gr. edition 393	Syncellus 153
Paterculus, incorrect 515	Taylor, John 217
Patrick 21, 131	Taylor, John 494, 556
Pellet 472, 473	Taylor, Joseph 31
Peter a Valle 26	Terence, why correct ; 515
Peters 295	Theodoret 52, 357
Philo 351, 366, 572	Theodotion's Ver. 362-366
Pilkington 418 - 421, 555	Theodulphus 204
Pocock 355, 454	Theophanes 392
Postellus 44	Valer. de Flavigny 263
Prideaux ; 21, 22, 29, 58, 114, 133, 305	Van Hooght's Heb. Bib. 485
Ptolemy's decision 67 -- 71	Vernet 494
Raphelengius ; 171, 176, 180	Vignoles 196, 208
Reland ; 37, 50, 59, 61, 72, 116, 123, 561	Vitringa 570
Renaudot 524, 532	Vorstius 209
Robertson 493	Vossius ; 59, 265, 479, 586
Saadias, Rab. 285, 451, 453	Upton's Spencer 405
Sack, Berlin 191	Usher ; 21, 22, 139 - 142, 159
Sale's Koran 272, 351	Wall ; 57, 359, 405, 493
Samaritans ; 26, 37, 41 -- 47, 69, 116, 122	Walton ; 9, 21, 22, 30, 31, 60, 112, 153, 168, 172, 194, 216, 217, 268, 272, 273, 275, 278, 288, 326, 353, 355, 380, 457, 459, 466, 480, 585, 593.
	Warburton 148
	Wells 492
	Wetstein's Gr. Test. 412

INDEX OF PERSONS.

Whiston	109, 493	Ximenes, Cardinal	474
Wolfius ;	472, 473, 476,	Zacagni's Letter	407 -- 411
	532, 536, 537, 575-	Zeltner	476
Wotton's Clem. Rom.	352	Zuinglius	337, 398, 432

INDEX OF THINGS AND PLACES.

Accents Hebrew	484	Eton Heb. copy ;	471, 578
Alexandrian Gr. MS ;	370,	Exeter Coll. MS Joseph.	65
	404, 407 --- 423	----- Lat. MSS Bible ;	
Antwerp Polyglott	476		200, 202, 358
Arab. Marbles, Oxford	77	Finals, Hebrew	209, 210
Arab. Ver. old Test.	453	Gemara ;	441, 444, 575
----- Sam. Pent.	30, 31, 97	Gerizim ;	22, 31, 33, 36, 40,
Basilidian Gems	153		62, 69, 73, 81.
Blessings on Gerizim	83	Glosses inserted	404
Bodleian Library	31, 141,	Gothic Lat. MS, Spain	358
	286, 518, 538, &c.	Gottingen Commentar.	56
British Museum ;	18, 181,	----- Relations ;	327,
	182, 316, 332, 521, 539.		331, 562
Cambridge MSS ;	108, 191,	Grammar Heb. first ;	453
	521, &c.	Greek Letters	156
Canon Heb. clos'd	305	Gr. version of LXX, its age ;	
Chaldee MSS valuable ;	180		28, 211, 319, 320
-- 192, 339, 361, 440		----- formerly different ;	
Chald. Paraph. corrupt ;	16,		52, 336, 365
	166, 177, 184, 220.	----- interpolated ;	52,
-- its version wrong ;	187, 188		397 -- 433
Christ Ch. Oxford Lat. Bib.		----- its authors read dif-	
	MSS ; 200, 202	ferently	326 -- 333
Chronology Heb.	367, 369	----- censur'd by the	
Citician Inscriptions	156		Jews ; 362, 367
Commandment 7th	273	----- bad editions	194
Complut. Polyglot.	475, 570	----- its value ; (<i>passim</i>)	
----- Gr. version	194		321-323, 328-332, 336-339
Conjectures	371 -- 376	Gr. version Sam. Pent.	31, 32
Ebal ;	22, 37, 40, 62, 73, 81	Hebrew Letters	151-158
Eng. ver. allows errors in the		Heb. Text corrupt ;	48, 52,
printed Heb. text ;	48, 179		59, 75, 76, 254, 305.
----- wrong ;	78, 82, 87,	Hebrew Text corrupted, by	
	95, 119, 180	transposition	569 -- 572
----- old ver. better ;	80, 82	----- by change ;	20 --
<i>Epistolæ</i> 2, (1721)	371, 405		76, 188, 318, 337, 401,
<i>Esdras</i> , 1st book	506		568 -- 570.

INDEX OF THINGS AND PLACES.

- by insertion ; 53, 184, 318, 391, 429, 433, 568 -- 570
- by omission ; 57, 97, 99, 175, 180 --- 182, 184, 185, 187, 189, 318, 330, 333 - 335, 568 - 570
- its History ; 292 -- 511
- Hexapla ; 379, 382, 385, 392
- Jewish Coins 145, 155
- Senate 445, 465
- Infallibility, Papal; 198, 200
- Italic Version 362, 434
- Keri ; 246, 281 -- 287, 450
- Koran has a Masora 272
- Lambeth Heb. MS ; 522, 563
- Lat. MSS 564
- Latin printed copies diff. 201
- copies conform'd to the Heb. 195 &c. 204, 508
- Law on Gerizim ; 83 -- 97
- Leipfic Act: Erud. 71, 72, 338
- Letters, the first 148, 149
- London Polyglott 480
- Maccabees, history 534
- Masora ; 107, 196, 245, 262 -- 291, 451, 466, 468, 469.
- Memorian Canon 204, 358
- Merton Coll. MS Joseph. 65
- Mishnah 441, 443, 575
- MSS, necessary to be collated ; 6, 108 -- 165, 180 -- 220, 257, 261, 287, 328 -- 332, 455, 502, 515, 566.
- MSS Heb. 19, 516, 518 &c.
- latest worst 467-470
- a Catalogue 518-532
- Naplose, & MS; 26, 541, 577
- Numbers Heb. express'd by numeral letters ; 209, 212, 215, 438, 513.
- by arbitrary marks ; 196, 208, 213, 513
- Observationes in Jobum* 494
- Ομισταλις* often the cause of omission ; 58, 385, 561
- Oriental and Occident. Heb. copies ; 260, 274, 278
- Palmyr. Inscrip. 155, 213, 513
- Parallel Places ; 317 -- 319, 503 -- 512, 564 -- 570.
- Paris Hebrew MSS ; 528, 529, 539, 540
- Polyglott 477
- Pentateuch, orig. 295 -- 300
- Phœnician Letters ; 149-158
- Quotations in the Gr. Test. whence taken 107, 343
- Samar. Chronicon 72
- Letters 145-158
- MSS ; 51, 136, 333, 538 -- 552
- Pentateuch ; 21-165, 180 -- 188, 301 -- 305.
- chief objection to it answer'd ; 134, 542 &c.
- Version 29, 316
- *Thau*, its old shape ; 49, 50, 161
- Sidonian Coins 513
- Sigeon Marble 156
- Syriac MS, Bodleian 99
- Version 355 -- 362
- Talmud 247, 441, 575
- Targums 168 &c.
- Various Readings ; 282, 286
- many in the Heb. MSS ; 462, 483, 536, 567.
- Vatican Gr. MS ; 370, 404, 407 -- 422, 555, 575
- Venice edit. 471, 474, 476
- Versions, useful ; 324, 337
- Vowel Points, Heb. 484
- Vulgat 438 -- 440
- Words not separated 341
- Written Mountains 147

* * * * *

CORRECTIONS.

Pag. 25, 19: overthrow

161, 11: *παλαια*

186, 24: reads

188, 16: *μνημα*

223, 1: THE

238, 14: *מעבירים*

239; 13, 20: *הפלגשים*

275, 3: as an

276, 21: *delapsam*

281, 27: *dele con-*

351, 22: Gen. 4, 8:

357, 3: Zedekiah.

361, 8: additional

365, 24: *αποφθισις*

365, 31: *αγειν*

Pag. 375, 17: possible

376, 15: FOR

382, 23: *απομακρυν*

388, 9: *asteriscs.*

416, 10: *dele the*

421, 9: proper: and, in

424, 26: vid's from

430, 3: *dele the*

430, 8: ditions might

493, 3: p. 329.

557, 3: *scrip:*

In the Catalogue of *Chronicles*

N° 4: for 5495, 5945

and, for N° 80, 94

Esther, N° 13 ends at 3, 10.

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